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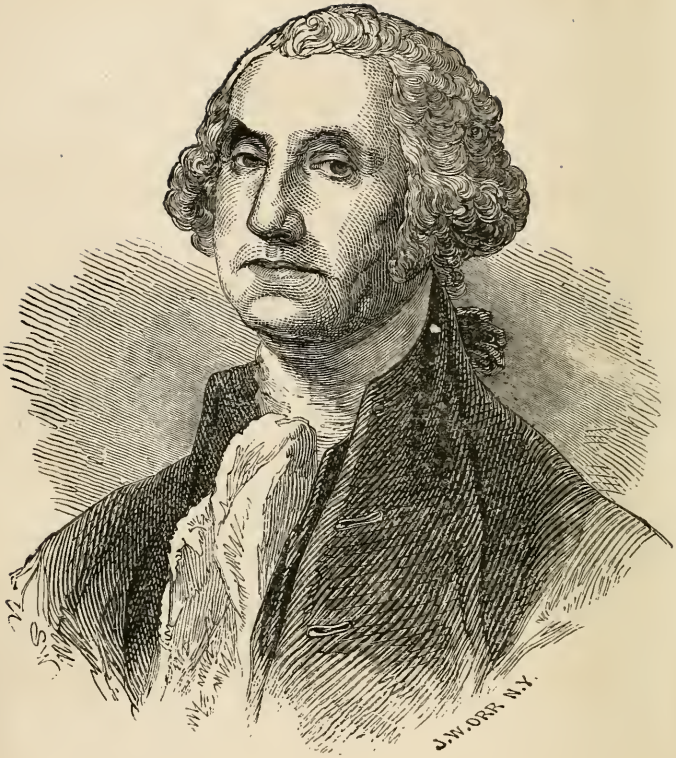
WELLS'

ILLUSTRATED NATIONAL

CAMPAIGN HAND-BOOK,

FOR 1860.

IN TWO PARTS---ONE VOLUME.


J.W. ORR N.Y.

WELLS'
ILLUSTRATED NATIONAL
CAMPAIGN HAND-BOOK
FOR 1860.

PART FIRST.

EMBRACING THE

LIVES OF ALL THE CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT:

INCLUDING

JOHN BELL AND EDWARD EVERETT,
CANDIDATES OF THE NATIONAL UNION PARTY.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HANIBAL HAMLIN,
CANDIDATES OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.

STEPH. A. DOUGLAS AND HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON
CANDIDATES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE AND JOSEPH LANE,
CANDIDATES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

SAM HOUSTON,
INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

WITH

PORTRAITS OF EACH,

ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK FROM AMBROTYPES TAKEN FROM LIFE.

57 ILLUSTRATIONS.

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JOHN BELL,

OF TENNESSEE,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL UNION PARTY.

FOR PRESIDENT.

POLITICAL PARTIES

AND

CANDIDATES

FOR

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

ARRANGED IN THEIR ORDER OF NOMINATION.

THE NATIONAL UNION PARTY.

This party is composed principally of the members of the old Whig and American parties, who oppose the Democrats, and profess to view the Republicans as too sectional. Its organization was proposed in an address issued within the last year from the city of Washington, where a central club was formed, of which the Hon. John J. Crittenden was Chairman.

The party met in National Convention at the city of Baltimore, on the ninth day of May, and nominated, after a short session, marked with great decorum and harmony, as their Candidates:

Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee, for President;

Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

JOHN BELL,

OF TENNESSEE,

CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY,

Was born near Nashville in that State, on the 18th of February, 1797. He is the son of a farmer in moderate circumstances, but who was able nevertheless to give his son a good education at Cumberland College, now the Nashville University. After the close of his collegiate course he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1816. He settled at Franklin, Williamson County, Tenn., and soon obtained a respectable practice, as well as an enviable reputation for ability. His political career began early, for in 1817 he was elected to the State Senate, being at the time only twenty years of age. His talents were as readily acknowledged in the Forum as at the Bar; but recognizing the error of aspiring to political honors at so early a period of life, he declined a re-election, and for nine years succeeding devoted his energies to his profession, in which he met with eminent success.

In 1826, Mr. Bell became a Candidate for Congress against Felix Grundy, one of the ablest and most popular men in the State, who had the powerful support of General Jackson, and then a candidate for the Presidency against John Quincy Adams. Notwithstanding this great odds, after an exciting and animated canvass of twelve months, Mr. Bell was elected in 1827 by one thousand majority. By successive elections he con-

tinued a member of the House of Representatives for fourteen years.

He entered Congress a strong admirer of John C. Calhoun, and opposed as strongly to the Protective system, against which he made an able speech in 1832. Subsequent investigation and reflection induced him to change his opinions on that subject, and he has remained ever since an earnest advocate of the policy of protecting American Industry. Although opposed to the appropriation of money by the General Government for roads and canals in the States, except great roads for military purposes, such as the Pacific Railroad, he has always favored the policy of improving great rivers and lake harbors.

With all his admiration for Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Bell decidedly opposed the doctrine of Nullification, and was made Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, with special reference to the questions connected with that subject which might have to be considered and reported upon. He retained his position as Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary Affairs for ten years. He was in favor of a United States Bank, although he voted against the re-charter of that institution in 1832, because he believed the subject was brought forward at the time, four years before the expiration of the old charter, merely for the purpose of defeating General Jackson in the ensuing Presidential Election; and because he was convinced the President would veto the bill, which proved to be the case. He protested against the removal of the deposits, and refused to vote for a resolution approving that measure. This refusal was one of the causes which led

to the breach between himself, President Jackson, and the Democratic party, and finally to his co-operation with the Whigs. He was elected to the Speakership of the House of Representatives in 1834. In June of that year Mr. Stevenson resigned the chair upon being nominated minister to Great Britain, and Mr. Bell was elected to succeed him in opposition to James K. Polk, since President of the United States, who was the candidate of the administration and of the Democratic party. Mr. Bell, on this occasion, was supported by the Whigs and by a portion of the Democratic party who were opposed to the intended nomination of Martin Van Buren as successor to President Jackson. The principal ground of Mr. Bell's opposition to Mr. Van Buren was his strong disapproval of the system of removals from subordinate offices for merely political reasons—a system which Mr. Van Buren had zealously promoted in the party conflicts of the State of New York, and which, it was supposed, he intended to carry out to its full extent in the administration of the Federal Government. The tendencies of such a use of executive patronage had been vividly displayed by Mr. Bell in a speech in the House on the freedom of elections; and he had made repeated, though ineffectual, efforts in successive Congresses to procure the enactment of laws calculated to check that policy.

The final separation between Mr. Bell and General Jackson took place in 1835, when Mr. Bell declared himself in favor of Judge White for the Presidency, in opposition to Mr. Van Buren. Up to that time there had been no opposition to General Jackson's administration in Tennessee, and it was generally sup-

posed that his personal and political influence could not fail to subdue the opposition raised by Judge White and his friends. The whole force of the administration, and of Jackson's personal popularity, was exerted to this end. But Judge White carried the State by a large majority, and Mr. Bell was re-elected to Congress in the Hermitage district itself by as great a vote as ever, and an impulse was given to the political character of Tennessee which arrayed it in opposition to the Democracy during the four succeeding presidential elections of 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852.

When the reception of the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was agitated in the House of Representatives in 1856, Mr. Bell alone, of the Tennessee delegation, favored the reception, and though assailed at home, was sustained by the people, subsequently, in 1838. When Atherton's resolutions were introduced, proposing to receive and lay those resolutions on the table, he maintained his consistency by voting in the negative, in order that they might be referred and reported upon. When President Harrison formed his administration in 1841, he invited Mr. Bell to accept the War Department, which he did. With the rest of the Cabinet, Mr. Webster only excepted, he resigned office on the separation of President Tyler from the Whig party, in the autumn of that year.

The Whig majority in the next Tennessee legislature which met after his withdrawal from the Cabinet offered him the office of United States Senator, which, however, he declined in favor of Ephraim H. Foster, who had rendered service to the Whig party which Mr. Bell thought deserving that recognition. Mr. Foster was

accordingly elected, and Mr. Bell remained in voluntary retirement until called upon by the people of his district, in 1847, to represent them in the State Senate, in which year, on the occurrence of a vacancy, he was elected to the United States Senate, to which he was re-elected in 1853; his term of service expired March 4, 1859.

In the Senate Mr. Bell has steadily opposed the policy of annexing Mexico and other Spanish-American States to the Union. He was in favor of the compromise measures of 1850, but desired to see the issues then made fully settled at the time by the division of Texas into States, as provided by the act of annexation, because he apprehended, whenever that question came up, the harmony of the Union might again be disturbed.

In 1854, when the Nebraska bill was presented to the Senate, Mr. Bell protested against its passing, as a violation of the Missouri compact, and as unsettling the principles established by the Compromise act of 1850, and as re-opening a sectional controversy, which might imperil the peace and safety of the Union.

In March, 1858, Mr. Bell took decided ground against the so-called Lecompton Constitution, and made an elaborate speech, charging that that measure tended directly to the overthrow of the Union.

He is succeeded in the Senate by A. O. P. Nicholson. Mr. Bell ranks high in the esteem of men of all parties for intelligence, patriotism, and elevated moral character. He is a statesman whose opinions are formed with great caution; the excess of this characteristic gives sometimes the appearance of indecision to his course; but, when once convinced, he is firm and tena-

cious. His speeches have been able and argumentative, and what he says always commands respect. Without any reference to his political sentiments, or his prospects of success, it may be said with pride, that his course has been eminently useful to his country, and honorable to himself.

EDWARD EVERETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL UNION PARTY,

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

EDWARD EVERETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

This statesman, orator and man of letters, now candidate of the Union Party for Vice-President, was born in Dorchester, Massachussetts, April 11th, 1794. He entered Harvard College in 1807, at the early age of thirteen, and graduated in course in 1811, with the highest honors, in a class containing more than an average amount of ability. While an under-graduate, he was the principal conductor of a magazine, published by the students, called the "Harvard Lyceum." He left behind him at the college a very brilliant reputation as a scholar and writer, which long lingered there in tradition.

For some time after finishing his college course he remained there as a tutor, at the same time pursuing his studies in divinity—the profession he had selected.

In 1812 he delivered a spirited poem before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on American Poets.

In 1813 he was selected as pastor over the Brattle Street Church, in Boston, filling the place left vacant by the lamented Buckminster. He immediately won great admiration by the eloquence and power of his pulpit discourses.

In 1814 he published a work entitled "Defence of Christianity," against a work of George Bethune Eng-

lish, entitled the "Grounds of Christianity examined, by comparing the New Testament with the Old." In the same year he was chosen by the Corporation of Harvard College to fill the chair of Greek Literature, a professorship then recently created by the bounty of the late Samuel Eliot. With a view of qualifying himself for the duties of this post, he entered upon an extended course of European travel and study, leaving home in the spring of 1815, and returning in the autumn of 1819. After a brief stay in England, he proceeded to the University of Gottingen, where he remained for two years.

In the winter of 1817–18 he was in Paris. In the spring of 1818 he went to England, where he was kindly received by many of the leading men of the day, including Scott, Byron, Jeffrey, Campbell, Mackintosh, Romilly and Davy. He spent some days under Scott's hospitable roof at Abbotsford.

Returning to the Continent, he passed the winter in Italy, and thence made a journey into Greece, returning through Wallachia and Hungary to Vienna.

During his residence in Europe, his range of study embraced the ancient classics, the modern languages, the history and principles of civil and public laws as professed in the German Universities, and a comprehensive examination of the existing political system of Europe.

On his return home, he entered upon the duties of his professorship. He gave a new impulse to the study of classical literature by a series of brilliant lectures upon Greek literature and ancient art, first delivered

to the students at Cambridge, and afterwards repeated before large audiences in Boston.

At the same time he took the editorship of the "North American Review," which he conducted until 1824. His object in assuming the charge of this periodical was to imbue it with a thoroughly national spirit, and in pursuance thereof he contributed a series of articles, in which this country was defended with great spirit against the shallow and flippant attacks of several foreign travelers. He also found time to prepare and publish a translation of Buttman's Greek Grammar.

In 1824 he made his first essay in that department of demonstrative oratory, which he has since cultivated with such signal success, by the delivery of a discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the "Circumstances favorable to the Progress of Literature in America." An immense audience came to hear him. He was heard with the greatest enthusiasm and delight. A writer in the "Christian Examiner" of Nov., 1850, speaking of his recollection of that memorable occasion, says:—

"The sympathies of his audience went with him in a rush-
"ing stream, as he painted in glowing hues the political,
"social and literary future of our country. They drank with
"thirsty ears his rapid generalizations and his sparkling
"rhetoric: the whole assembly put on one countenance of
"admiration and assent. As with skillful and flying hands
"the orator ran over the chord of national pride and patri-
"otic feeling, every bosom throbbed in unison to his touch;
"and when the fervid declamation of the concluding para-
"graph was terminated by the simple pathos of the personal

"address to Lafayette, who was present, his hearers were "left in a state of emotion far too deep for tumultuous "applause."

This was the first of a series of discourses, pronounced by Mr. Everett, on public occasions between that time and the present, embracing every variety of topic connected with our national history, character, and prospects, and which combine in an eminent degree the peculiar charm of popular oratory, with those substantial merits of thought and style which bear the close criticism of the closet.

Mr. Everett's public life began in 1824, when he was elected to Congress. His nomination was made without his being consulted, and was a spontaneous movement on the part of the young men of his district, almost without distinction of party. He was himself, as might naturally be expected, a supporter of the administration of Mr. Adams, then just elected President. Mr. Everett served, by successive re-elections, ten years in Congress, and, during the whole period, was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the most important Committee at that time in the House. He also held a place on all the most important select committees while he was in Congress, and in every instance he was selected to draw either the majority or minority reports.

In the XIXth Congress, though then just elected to the House, and the youngest member in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he drew the celebrated report on the Panama Mission, the leading measure of that session.

In the XXth Congress, forming with Mr. John Sar-

gent, of Philadelphia, the minority of the well-known Retrenchment Committee, he drew up all those portions of its report which relate to the Departments of State and War. He was Chairman of the Select Committee, during Mr. Adams's presidency, on the Georgia controversy. He drew the report for the committee in favor of the heirs of Fulton.

With Gov. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, he formed the minority of the Bank Investigating Committee, which was sent to Philadelphia in 1834, and drew up the report. He wrote the minority report of the Committee of Foreign Relations upon the controversy with France in the spring of 1835, and took a leading part in the debate on the subject. He made two or three reports on the subject of the claims of American citizens on foreign powers for spoliations committed on our commerce during the French Continental system, and continued the discussion in the "North American Review." He always served on the Library Committee, and, generally, on that for Public Buildings.

In 1827, he addressed a series of letters to Mr. Canning on the Colonial trade, which were extensively read.

In the summer of 1829, in the congressional vacation, he made an extensive tour through the Southwestern and Western States, and was everywhere received with marked distinction. At Nashville, at Lexington, and at the Yellow Springs in Ohio, he was complimented with public dinners, and charmed his hosts by beautiful specimens of that species of eloquence in which he is generally admitted to hold the first place among his contemporaries.

The points of Mr. Everett's congressional career, which we have indicated, form but a small part of his labors and services in the House of Representatives. He was a faithful and assiduous attendant of the sessions, and a diligent observer of the proceedings of that body. He was a frequent but not obtrusive debater. His speeches were carefully prepared, full of information, weighty in substance, polished in form, and perfectly free from those indecorums and personalities which sometimes disfigure congressional debates. In his attention to the private affairs of his constituents, he was always prompt and patient. Occupied as he was with the public business during his congressional life, his regular and inflexible habits of industry enabled him to find time for literary labor: besides the elaborate public addresses which he occasionally delivered, he prepared several articles of high merit for the "North American Review." Among them may be mentioned, with particular commendation, a paper in the number for October, 1830, in which the South Carolina doctrine of nullification is discussed with remarkable ability.

In the autumn of 1834, he declined a re-nomination to Congress, as his political friends in Massachusetts were desirous of presenting his name as candidate for the office of Governor, to which he was chosen by a large majority in the ensuing election. He was, afterwards, three times re-elected—holding the Executive Office four years.

His administration was dignified, useful and popular. Among the measures which marked the period of his official service were the subscription of the State to the

stock of the Western Railroad; the organization of the Board of Education, and the establishment of the Normal School—the Scientific and Agricultural Surveys of the State, and the establishment of a Commission for the revision of the criminal law.

In the discharge of what may be called the ceremonial duties of his station, Governor Everett was eminently happy. His manner in presiding was dignified, graceful and courteous. To the natural desire of his constituents to hear him speak, he responded with the most good-natured readiness, and the many occasional speeches he delivered were unifomly spirited and happy. In the autumn of 1839, after an animated struggle, he was defeated by Marcus Morton, by a majority of one vote.

Relieved from public duty, he was led by the state of his own health, and that of his family, to visit Europe a second time. He sailed with his family in June, 1840. They passed the summer in France, and the following winter in Italy, most of it in Florence and its neighborhood. He intended to pass another winter in Italy, but the course of political events at home interfered with his purpose, and sent him upon a new path to public duty.

In 1840, under President Harrison's administration, he was appointed to represent this country at the Court of St. James. Our relations with England at that time were momentous. The controversy touching the North-eastern boundary, which for half a century had been a subject of difference, had reached a point where an amicable adjustment seemed hopeless. The recent burning of the Caroline and the arrest of McLeod, had

inflamed the public mind in both countries. The case of the Creole, and questions connected with Oregon and Texas, were also elements of irritation. American vessels had been seized and detained by British cruisers on the coast of Africa. The confidence reposed in him by the administration was shown by the fact that he was sent to London to discuss all these questions without any specific instructions from the Government. Entering at once upon the discharge of his duties, he justified, by his ability, discretion, and tact, the confidence reposed in him.

Though the settlement of the North-eastern boundary and of the Oregon question was transferred to Washington by the appointment of Lord Ashburton, as special ambassador, many important questions were left in Mr. Everett's charge. Among the most important was that involving the construction of the first article of the convention between the two countries on the subject of the Fisheries. Mr. Everett secured for our fishermen the long-disputed right to take fish in the Bay of Fundy.

He procured at various times, and in the face of great obstacles, the release from the Penal Colony of Van Dieman's Land of sixty or seventy American citizens, convicted of participation in the Canadian rebellion.

Mr. Everett's position at the Court of St. James must have been rendered more difficult, by the frequent changes in the Department of State. Mr. Webster retired in the spring of 1843, and was succeeded in a brief period by Mr. Upsher, Mr. Legaré, and Mr. Calhoun. But, by all of the three gentlemen, Mr. Everett's services were duly appreciated.

Mr. Everett's social position in England was equally honorable and agreeable to him, and a source of just pride to his countrymen. His cultivation and accomplishments were everywhere recognized, and his public speeches were received with enthusiasm.

In the spring of 1843 he was appointed to fill the newly-constituted mission to China, with a view to establish commercial relations with that country, which honorable trust he was compelled to decline. Immediately on his return to the United States, in the autumn of 1845, he was chosen President of Harvard University. He entered upon the duties of this new trust with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, and it was a subject of great regret to the friends of the college that the burdensome details and monotonous confinement of his official life wore so heavily upon his health as to compel him to resign his post at the end of three years.

Mr. Everett gave a portion of his leisure, after resigning the Presidency, to the preparation of a collected edition of his Orations and Speeches, which appeared in two vols., 8vo., in 1850. He also superintended the publication of the new edition of the works of Mr. Webster, at his special request, and prepared an elaborate memoir, which was prefixed to the first volume.

Upon the death of that great statesman, in November, 1852, Mr. Everett was called upon by President Fillmore to fill the vacant place of Secretary of State. He held the office during the last four months of President Fillmore's administration, and the condition of the public business made them months of most severe

labor, and nothing but his indefatigable industry and great patience could have carried him through.

Besides paying the most conscientious attention to the regular business of the Department, he adjusted the perplexing affair of the Crescent City steamer, and the Lobos Islands,—prosecuted with energy the difficult negotiations pertaining to the fisheries,—concluded an international copy-right convention with Great Britain, and a Consular convention with France,—and reviewed the whole subject of Central American affairs in their relation to our Government and Great Britain, and recommended and induced Congress to establish there a mission of the first class.

But the question which attracted most of the public interest during Mr. Everett's administration of the Department of State, was the joint proposition of England and France to enter with the United States into a tripartite convention, guaranteeing to Spain, in perpetuity, the exclusive possession of Cuba.

This proposition was declined by the United States, in a diplomatic note of great ability, drawn up by Mr. Everett. His exposition of the policy of this country was received with very general approbation by the People and the Press, without distinction of party.

Notwithstanding all these arduous official duties, he found time to prepare an elaborate address for the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in Washington, in 1853, in exposition and defence of the objects of that Association. Before leaving the Department of State, Mr. Everett was elected by the Legislature of Massachusetts to the Senate of the United States,—took his seat in that body at the com-

mencement of the special Executive Session in March, 1853, and made an able and elaborate speech on the Central American question.

In the summer and fall of 1853, besides an address before the New York Historical Society on Colonization and Emigration, and a reply to the protest of Lord John Russell against the doctrines asserted by our Government in the note declining the tripartite Convention, Mr Everett spoke more than once in opposition to the proposed new Constitution in Massachusetts.

Upon the assembling of the XXXIIIrd Congress, in December, 1853, Mr. Everett, as might have been expected, found himself in a state of impaired health, but he applied himself with his usual industry to the discharge of his duties. Had the session proved one of no more than average labor and excitement, perhaps his strength would have enabled him to meet the duties of his post.

The introduction of the bill for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, (the Nebraska and Kansas bill,) produced great agitation throughout the country, and brought the opposing parties in the Senate into violent and protracted antagonism. For many weeks the sessions were long continued, and the discussions of the most vehement and impassioned character. Mr. Everett delivered a speech against this bill, February 8, 1854, characterized by his usual moderate and conservative views, as well as by good taste and good temper. His health, under the pressure of official toil and excitement, grew constantly worse, and in the following May

under the imperative advice of his physician, he resigned his seat.

A few months of rest and quiet restored him—and now there began a new phase in his life, and the opening of a new and peculiar sphere of action.

In the year 1853, the project of purchasing *Mount Vernon* by private subscription was first started by Miss Ann Pamelia Cunningham, in an Address to the People of the United States, under the head of "A Southern Matron." The proposal was favorably received, and Associations of Ladies began to be formed in several of the States, for the purpose of collecting funds. Mr. Everett having been applied to, by the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, to deliver a Lecture during their course of 1855-56, proposed that the Association should celebrate the next anniversary of the Birth-day of Washington, and offered to prepare for that occasion a discourse upon his character, the proceeds to be applied to some commemorative purpose. The offer was accepted, and on the 22nd of February, 1856, Mr. Everett pronounced his Oration on Washington, for the first time, before an immense audience at the Music Hall, Boston. It was immediately repeated at New York, New Haven and Baltimore, and the proceeds were applied to various objects. It was delivered for the first time for the benefit of the Mount Vernon Fund, at Richmond, Virginia, March 19, 1856—and down to June, 1859, it had been delivered in various parts of the country *one hundred and twenty-nine times*; always, except in seven cases, for the benefit of the Mount Vernon Fund.

No deduction has ever been made from the amount received on account of his expenses, which have been uniformly paid by himself. The proceeds received were deposited by him in the hands of a Board of Trustees, appointed by himself. They had paid over, up to the first of June, 1859, to the General Treasurer of the Fund, the sum of $53,393 81, and had remaining on their hands the further sum of $4,765 75.

In the autumn of 1858, Mr. Everett entered into an engagement with Mr. Robert Bonner, Editor and Proprietor of the "*New York Ledger*," to furnish an article weekly for that paper for one year, in consideration of $10,000, to be paid in advance to the Mount Vernon Fund. In the first of these articles Mr. Everett invited the readers of the "Ledger" to tramsmit each the sum of fifty cents or more towards the increase of the Mount Vernon Fund. Many persons responded to this call, and the net amount received from this source was, on the first of June, 1859, $2,929 94, which is included in the sum of $53,393 81, before mentioned as having been paid over to the General Treasurer.

Nor have Mr. Everett's benevolent labors been limited to the augmentation of the Mount Vernon Fund. December 22nd, 1857, he delivered at Boston an address on Charity and Charitable Associations, for the benefit of the Boston Provident Association, which has since been repeated in different parts of the country fifteen times, with an aggregate net receipt, for the benefit of various Charitable Associations, of about $13,500.

January 17, 1859, he delivered an address at Boston

on "The Early Days of Franklin," at the invitation of the association of the Franklin Medalists of that city, which has since been repeated five times, yielding about $4,000 for the benefit of various charitable and public associations.

December 7, 1858, he pronounced a eulogy on Mr. Thomas Dowse, before the Dowse Institute, at Cambridge, Mass., which was afterward repeated before the Massachusetts Historical Society, yielding to the two Institutions about $1,500.

The aggregate sum total realized in the ways before mentioned, and paid over to the Mount Vernon Fund, and sundry public and charitable associations, including the proceeds of the seven repetitions of the Washington Discourse which were not for the benefit of the Fund, will not fall much short of $100,000.

We have gone somewhat into detail in our sketch of this part of Mr. Everett's Life, not merely on account of its peculiar and interesting character, but because we think the facts we have mentioned are entitled to record as illustrating the genius of our people, and the relations which our political institutions have established between the general community and those men who, from their abilities and accomplishments, are the leaders of public sentiment.

It would not fall in the province of this sketch to give an analysis of the mental qualities and personal traits of a man now so prominently before the public for their suffrages. The wide reputation he enjoys and the opportunity which so many have had of listening to his eloquence, renders it superfluous. It may not,

however, be unbecoming to hold him up for commendation and imitation to the youth of the country for his indefatigable industry and his methodical habits of labor, and as an example that such habits will command the most brilliant success.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

As it is now known and recognized, was not known, either in form or in name, five years ago; but the principal elements from which it has sprung and grown in strength, had their existence in events that transpired in the troublous times of 1849–50. When forty-two members of the thirty-first Congress, from the slave States, issued their famous manifesto, and contributed the sum of $30,000 to establish a disunion organ at the seat of government, the public mind was greatly startled, and men of all parties at the North, together with a majority of the people at the South, were anxious to devise some means by which this threatened danger could be passed without evil consequences; and many eminent men and distinguished politicians, holding the view that the slavery question was the great moving cause of all the difficulty, arrayed themselves against the admission of any more territory in which slavery should be legalized. To this end, they asked Congress, to insert the following clause in all bills for the admission of States, or the formation of territorial governments, to wit:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than by conviction for crime, shall ever be allowed."

This proviso, in such evident and direct antagonism to the long-established doctrine of State Rights, was met by the determined opposition of the democratic party and a large proportion of the old whigs; and, following immediately on its introduction, the principle of Squatter Sovereignty was inaugurated as a compromise measure, taking the intermediate ground between the doctrines and teachings of the ultra Northern and the intensely Southern parties.

The Republican Party proper, however, did not declare itself fully, by a platform and formal declaration of its views, until the meeting of the Philadelphia Convention, in 1856,—when a schedule of its principles was duly issued, founded mainly on the Wilmot Proviso and the doctrine of Congressional Intervention. Men who had previously acted with the other parties of the day, now enrolled themselves under the Republican banner in large numbers; and what was at first viewed as an insignificant faction, in the course of a few months, assumed all the consequence and influence of a powerful organization.

The Republican Party is looked upon as revolutionary in its teachings and ultimate results. It is so most emphatically. Its doctrines are not in accordance with those advanced by any political party that has preceded it, but are new, and mainly in contemplation of what its partisans view as pressing emergencies. Whether the ends sought will justify the means employed for their accomplishment, is a question that we do not propose to canvass.

On the 16th day of May, 1860, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago, in a large building erected for the purposes of the meeting, and called the "Wigwam."

The Convention was called to order by Gov. Morgan, of New York, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, who named Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, for temporary President. The remarks of Mr. Wilmot, on taking the chair, may possess some interest, as defining in part the position of the Republican Party at this moment. He addressed the Convention briefly, returning thanks for the high and undeserved honor. He would carry the remembrance of it with him to the day of his death. It was unnecessary for him to remind the Convention of the high duty devolved upon them. A great sectional interest had for years dominated with a high hand over the

affairs of the country. It had bent all its energy to the extension and naturalization of slavery. It is the mission of the Republican party to oppose this policy, and to restore to the government the policy of the Revolutionary fathers; to resist the dogma that slavery exists wherever the Constitution extends; to read the Constitution as our fathers read it. That Constitution was not ordained to embrace slavery within all the limits of the country. They lived and died in the faith that slavery was a blot, and would soon be washed out. Had they deemed that the Revolution was to establish a great slave empire, not one would have drawn his sword in such a cause. The battle was fought to establish freedom. Slavery is sectional—freedom is national.

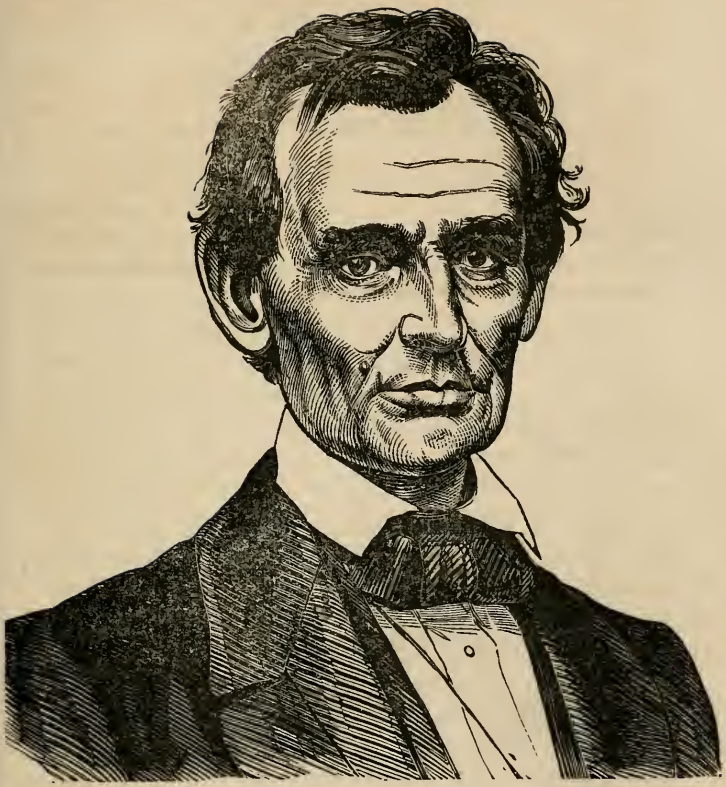
He deemed it unnecessary to remind the delegates of the outrages and usurpations of the Democratic party. Those outrages will not be confined to the limits of the slave States if the South have the power; and the safety of the free States requires that the Republicans should take the government, and administer it as it has been administered by Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—even down to Van Buren and Polk—before these new dogmas were engrafted in the Democratic policy. He assumed his duties, exhorting a spirit of harmony to control the action of the delegates.

In the afternoon session, the committee on organization reported the name of George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, for President, and Vice-Presidents and Secretaries from every State represented in the Convention. The following States and Territories were represented: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, California, Texas, District of Columbia, Kansas and Nebraska. It was agreed that a *majority* shall nominate. A series of seventeen resolu-

tions was adopted, and denominated the Platform of the Republican Party. They will be found in another part of this work.

There were an unprecedented number of names submitted for the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, but on the third ballot, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois, received a majority of the votes cast, and his nomination was made unanimous by acclamation.

On the first ballot for the nomination of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine, received a majority of the votes cast, and was declared nominated with great enthusiasm.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

OF ILLINOIS,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY,

FOR PRESIDENT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

OF ILLINOIS,

CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY,

Was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. He is probably descended from the Lincolns of Massachusetts, though his parents were of the Quaker stock that emigrated from Pennsylvania to Rockingham County, Va.; whence his grandfather, Abraham, removed to Kentucky in 1781.

The record of his boyhood and youth, so far as we have been able to trace it, is not distinguished by anything more remarkable than the usual experience of children of pioneers in a new country. In 1816 we learn he removed, with his parents, to what is now Spencer County, Indiana. Here he enjoyed the advantages of a few months' schooling—less than a year, however, in all. Whatever else he afterward learned from books was without the aid of the schoolmaster—the result of his own energy and indomitable perseverance.

In 1830, young Lincoln having just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family left the old homestead in Indiana, and removed to Illinois; they located in the county of Macon, built a cabin, and opened and fenced a farm some ten miles west of Decatur. Abe was handy at rail-splitting in those days, and it is said that he accomplished his full quota of labor in clearing up and fencing this new place; and that some of those identical rails have recently played

a more important part than dividing the fields of the Macon County farm. His life was that of an ordinary farmer's boy until 1832, when the Black Hawk war broke out. Young Lincoln immediately joined a volunteer company, composed principally of the young men of his neighborhood, and was chosen captain by acclamation. He seems to have possessed the elements of popularity, and those distinguishing traits of character that mark the leader; even at this early age, the germ of a superior mind was discovered and appreciated. Although he was in no engagement, he served to the end of the campaign, and now owns the land upon which his warrants for this service were located.

Immediately after his return from this campaign, he was a candidate for the Legislature, but was beaten; his own precinct, however, casting its vote 277 for, and 7 against him, and this, too, when he was an avowed and enthusiastic Clay man, and the same precinct the autumn afterwards giving a majority of 115 for General Jackson over Mr. Clay. It is stated, on good authority, that this was the only time Lincoln was ever beaten by a direct vote of the people.

About this time, having left the paternal roof, and finding himself obliged to shift for himself, he determined to adopt the profession of the law—and to this end, employed whatever time he could spare from manual labor, which he was obliged to pursue for physical support, in the reading of such legal works as he could borrow, and thus acquired the rudiments of the profession in which he has since so eminently distinguished himself. In the autumn of 1836 he obtained a license to practice, and in 1837 he removed

to Springfield, and formed a partnership with Major John F. Stuart, at that time one of the leading lawyers of the State.

In 1834 he was elected to the Legislature, and re-elected in 1836, 1838 and 1840. He briefly defined his position on the Slavery question in 1837 by a protest entered on the Illinois House Journal, at pages 817, 818, with Dan Stone, another representative from Sangamon County, as follows:

"*March 3d*, 1837.

"The following protest was presented to the House, which was read, and ordered to be spread on the journal, to wit:

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic Slavery having passed both branches of the general assembly, at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

"They believe that the institution of Slavery is founded on *both injustice and bad policy;* but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District.

"The difference between these opinions and those

contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN STONE,
"A. LINCOLN,
"Representatives from the County of Sangamon."

For many years Lincoln was a prominent leader of the Whig party in Illinois, and was on the electorial ticket in several Presidential campaigns. In 1844 he canvassed the entire state for Henry Clay, of whom he was a sincere and enthusiastic friend, and exerted himself powerfully for the favorite of his party. In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress. He took his seat on the first Monday in December, 1847,—the only Whig representative from his State. Of seven members of the House from Illinois, six were Democrats

Mr. Lincoln's first vote in Congress was cast December 20th, 1847, in favor of the subjoined resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That if, in the judgment of Congress, it be necessary to improve the navigation of a river, to expedite and render secure the movements of our army, and save from delay and loss our arms and munitions of war, that Congress has the power to improve such river.

"*Resolved*, That if it be necessary for the preservation of the lives of our seamen, repairs, safety or maintenance of our vessels of war, to improve a harbor or inlet, either on our Atlantic or Lake coast, Congress has the power to make such improvement."

These resolutions formed the basis for the introduction of the famous River and Harbor bill, to which Mr. Lincoln and the other Whigs in Congress gave their

hearty support. In fact, all acts for internal improvements introduced into Congress while he was a member thereof, received all the aid at his hands he was entitled to render them. About this time Mr. Giddings presented a memorial from certain citizens of the District of Columbia, asking Congress to repeal all laws sanctioning the slave trade in the District. A motion was made to refer the memorial to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to inquire into the constitutionality of laws by which slaves are held as property in the District of Columbia. A motion followed to lay the paper on the table,—*against* which we find recorded the vote of Mr. Lincoln. The vote, however, resulted in a tie, and the Speaker, (Mr. Winthrop, of Mass.) voted in the negative. Mr. Cobb announced that he wished to debate the matter, and it was laid over under the rules.

These two instances furnish a correct index to Lincoln's subsequent votes on the questions involved, and, in fact, his course has been consistent and unwavering on all the topics of the day. How far it has been judicious, patriotic and useful to the country, it is not our province to determine.

On the subject of the war with Mexico, Mr. Lincoln took the position occupied by other members of his party North and South, objecting to what was considered a false statement of the origin of the difficulties, in the message of President Polk; but in every instance, we believe, voting supplies for the war, and recognizing it, after hostilities were actually com-

menced, as a contest in which our national honor must be sustained, at all hazards.

February 17th, 1848, the Committee of Ways and Means reported a Loan bill, to raise the sum of sixteen millions of dollars, to enable the government to provide for its debts, principally incurred in Mexico. This bill passed the House by the following vote: ayes 192, nays 14,—Mr. Lincoln voting for it.

February 28th, 1848, Mr. Putnam, of New York, moved the following preamble and resolution:

"*Whereas*, In the settlement of the difficulties pending between this country and Mexico, territory may be acquired in which slavery does not exist; and whereas, Congress, in the organization of a territorial government, at an early period of our political history, established a principle worthy of imitation in all future time, forbidding the existence of slavery in free territory: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That in any territory which may be acquired from Mexico, over which shall be established territorial governments, slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, should be forever prohibited; and that in any act or resolution establishing such governments, a fundamental provision ought to be inserted to that effect."

Mr. Brodhead moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was decided by the following vote: yeas 105, nays 92,—Mr. Lincoln voting *nay*.

June 19, 1848, Mr. Lincoln recorded his vote in favor of a protective tariff.

July 28, 1848, the bill to establish territorial governments for Oregon, California, and New Mexico, was

brought before the House of Representatives. The prominent feature that marked this bill was a provision referring to California and New Mexico, prohibiting the territorial legislatures from passing laws either in favor or against slavery, and providing that all acts of the territorial legislatures shall be subject to the sanction of Congress. This bill had met strong opposition in the Senate—Senators Allen, Dix, Hamlin, Corwin, Webster, and others, having met and opposed it with all the strength of their eloquence; and its introduction in the House caused great confusion and excitement. The motion to lay on the table came from an unexpected source,—A. H. Stephens, of Georgia,—and was agreed to by ayes, 114; nays, 96. We hardly need add that Mr. Lincoln voted *aye*.

August 2, 1848, the bill for the organization of the territory of Oregon was before the House, and a motion was made to strike out that part of the bill which extended the ordinance of 1787 over Oregon territory, and Mr. Lincoln voted to retain the ordinance.

December 13, 1848, Mr. Palfrey, of Mass., asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all acts of Congress establishing slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Lincoln, believing intervention against slavery in the District entirely wrong and inexpedient, without compensation to the slave-owner, voted *against* the proposition of Mr. Palfrey.

December 21, 1848, Mr. McClelland, of Michigan, offered the following resolution in the House:

"*Resolved*, That the present traffic in the public lands should cease, and that they should be disposed of to occu-

pants and cultivators, on proper conditions, at such a price as will nearly indemnify the cost of their purchase, management, and sale."

The previous question having been called, a motion was made to lay the resolution on the table, which prevailed; Mr. Lincoln voting against tabling.

We have doubtless referred to the records sufficiently, and indicated with all necessary minuteness, the position of the subject of this brief, and necessarily very imperfect, sketch, on the various questions that occupied the public mind during the short period of his congressional career. He was opposed to the annexation of Texas, and labored vigorously in behalf of the Wilmot Proviso.

From 1849 to 1858, Mr. Lincoln occupied most of the time in the practice of his profession, occasionally speaking at public meetings on the questions at issue between the great political parties of the day; and in 1854, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he stumped the State of Illinois in favor of William H. Bissell, the Anti-Nebraska candidate for Governor. His friends award him great credit for the gallant manner in which he conducted this campaign.

June 2, 1858, a Republican State Convention met at Springfield, and put Mr. Lincoln in nomination as a candidate for United States Senator. Mr. Douglas was the Democratic nominee, and a man of more than ordinary ability was wanted to meet him on the stump. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln for this place implied no ordinary compliment; it was not the voice of his convention merely, saying, " We believe you a man of

talent, integrity and great legislative ability, and therefore put you in nomination for this important office," but it also said, "You are the best man we have to meet a political debater who has no superior in the world,—the Rienzi of the American Forum. We put you forward as the Champion of our principles, against a giant in intellect,—a master in the science of political strategy."

The history of that contest is known to the world. It was a series of the most brilliant engagements of mind with mind; the most daring achievements of logical reasoning and forensic display that ever characterized a political campaign. Mr. Douglas found "a foeman worthy of his steel," as the figures of the result very fully testify; and which probably caused quite as much surprise to the friends of Mr. Lincoln, as to his opponents.

Some very amusing passages occurred in those stump speeches, and some brief quotations of a personal character may not be entirely unacceptable to the readers. Mr. Douglas undertook to give a little sketch of his opponent's personal history, after the following fashion:

"In the remarks I have made on this platform, and "the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing "personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. "I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. "There were many points of sympathy between us "when we first got acquainted. We were both com-"paratively boys, and both struggling with poverty, in "a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of "Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the

"town of Salem. He was more successful in his occu-
"pation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in
"this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar
"men who perform with admirable skill every thing
"they undertake. I made as good a school-teacher as I
"could, and when a cabinet-maker, I made good bed-
"steads and tables, although my old boss said I suc-
"ceeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with
"anything else; but I believe Lincoln was always
"more successful in business than I, for his business
"enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him
"there, however, and had a sympathy with him,
"because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life.
"He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as
"now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or
"running a foot-race, in pitching quoits, or tossing a
"copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys of
"the town together, and the dignity and impartiality
"with which he presided at a horse-race or fist-fight,
"excited the admiration and won the praise of every-
"body that was present and participated.—I sympa-
"thized with him, because he was struggling with diffi-
"culties, and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me
"in the Legislature in 1836, when we both retired
"and he subsided, or became submerged, and was
"lost sight of as a public man for some years. In
"1846, when Wilmot introduced the celebrated Pro-
"viso, and the abolition tornado swept over the coun-
"try, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Con-
"gress from the Sangamon district. I was then in
"the Senate of the United States, and was glad to wel-
"come my old friend and companion. While in Con

"gress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to "the Mexican War, taking the side of the common "enemy against his own country; and when he "returned home, he found that the indignation of the "people followed him everywhere, and he was again "submerged, or obliged to retire into private life, for-"gotten by his former friends."

To which Mr. Lincoln replied:

"The Judge is wofully at fault about his early friend "Lincoln being a grocery-keeper. I don't know as it "would be a great sin if I had been; but he is mis-"taken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in "the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the lat "ter part of one winter in a little still-house at the "head of a hollow. And so I think my friend, the "Judge, is equally at fault when he charges me, at the "time when I was in Congress, with having opposed our "soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War. "The Judge did not make this charge very distinctly, "but I can tell you what he can prove by referring to "the record. You remember I was an old Whig, and "whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to "vote that the war had been righteously begun by "the President, I would not do it. But whenever "they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or any-"thing to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, "I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You "can think as you please as to whether that was con-"sistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has a "right to make all he can out of it.—But when he, by "a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld "supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the

"Mexican war, or did anything else to hinder the "soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether "mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove "to him."

Making up the issues in this contest for the Senatorship, Mr. Douglas propounded the following questions, to which we subjoin the answers of Mr. Lincoln:

"*Question* 1. I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law?

"*Answer:* I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.

"*Question* 2. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?

"*Answer:* I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

"*Question* 3. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Consitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?

Answer: I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State see fit to make.

"*Question* 4. I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"*Answer:* I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"*Question* 5. I desire him to answer whether he

stands pledged to the prohibition of the Slave Trade between the different States?

"*Answer:* I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the Slave Trade between the different States.

"*Question* 6. I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line?

Answer: I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to believe in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

"*Question* 7. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is prohibited therein?

"*Answer:* I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves."

These answers are certainly good specimens of pointed and categorical rejoinder, and admit of no double interpretation. We have no doubt they embody the honest convictions of their author, as they are in conformity with his practice and teachings. Right or wrong, no one that knows him denies or questions the plain-dealing and honesty of purpose of Abraham Lincoln; and when he expresses himself seriously on the important questions of the day, as above, we feel bound to believe that he means what he says.

A Western man, who was personally cognizant of the facts, relates the following thrilling episode in the life of Mr. Lincoln: "Old Abe, as his friends familiarly

call him, is a self-made man. A Kentuckian by birth, he emigrated to Illinois in his boyhood, where he earned his living at the anvil, devoting his leisure hours to study. Having chosen the law as his future calling, he devoted himself assiduously to its mastery, contending at every step with adverse fortune. During this period of study, he for some time found a home under the hospitable roof of one Armstrong, a farmer, who lived in a log-house, some eight miles from the village of Petersburg, Menard county. Here, clad in homespun, with elbows out, and knees covered with patches, young Lincoln would master his lessons by the fire-light of the cabin, and then walk to town for the purpose of recreation. This man, Armstrong, was himself poor, but he saw the genius struggling in the young student, and opened to him his rude house, and bid him welcome to his coarse fare. How Lincoln graduated with promise, how he has more than fulfilled that promise, how honorably he has acquitted himself alike on the battle-field, in defending our border settlements against the ravages of savage foes, and in the halls of our national legislature, are matters of history, and need no repetition here.

"But one little incident, of a more private nature, standing as it does as a sort of sequel to some things already alluded to, I deem worthy of recounting. Some few years since, the oldest son of Mr. Lincoln's old friend Armstrong, the chief support of his widowed mother—the good old man having some time previously passed from earth—was arrested on a charge of murder. A young man had been killed during a riotous meleé, in the night-time, at a camp-meeting,

and one of his associates stated that the death-wound was inflicted by young Armstrong. A preliminary examination was gone into, at which the accuser testified so positively, that there seemed no doubt of the guilt of the prisoner, and, therefore, he was held for trial. As is too often the case, the bloody act caused an undue degree of excitement in the public mind. Every improper incident in the life of the prisoner—each act which bore the least semblance to rowdyism—each school-boy quarrel—was suddenly remembered and magnified, until they pictured him a fiend of the most horrid hue. As these rumors spread abroad, they were received as gospel truth, and a feverish desire for vengeance seized upon the infuriated populace, while only prison-bars prevented a horrible death at the hands of a mob. The events were heralded in the country papers, painted in the highest colors, accompanied by rejoicings over the certainty of punishment being meted out to the guilty party. The prisoner, overwhelmed by the circumstances under which he found himself placed, fell into a melancholy condition, bordering on despair, and the widowed mother, looking through her tears, saw no cause for hope from earthly aid.

At this juncture the widow received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, volunteering his services in an effort to save the youth from the impending stroke. Gladly was his aid accepted, although it seemed impossible for even his sagacity to prevail in such a desperate case; but the heart of the attorney was in his work, and he set about it with a will that knew no such end as fail. Feeling that the poisoned condition of the public mind

was such as to preclude the possibility of empaneling an impartial jury, in the Court having jurisdiction, he procured a change of venue, and a postponemen of the trial. He then went studiously to work, unraveling the history of the case, and satisfied himself that his client was the victim of malice, and that the statement of the accuser was a tissue of falsehoods.

"When the trial was called on, the prisoner, pale and emaciated, with hopelessness written on every feature, and accompanied by his half-hoping, half-despairing mother—whose only hope was a mother's belief of her son's innocence, in the justice of the God she worshiped, and in the noble counsel, who, without hope of fee or reward upon earth, had undertaken the cause —took his seat in the prisoner's box, and with a "stony firmness" listened to the reading of the indictment. Lincoln sat quietly by, while the large auditory looked on him as though wondering what he could say in defence of one whose guilt they regarded as certain. The examination of witnesses for the State was begun, and a well arranged mass of evidence was introduced, which seemed to implicate the prisoner beyond the possibility of extrication. The counsel for the defence propounded but few questions, and those of a character which excited no uneasiness on the part of the prosecutor—merely, in most cases, requiring the main witness to be definite as to time and place. When the evidence of the prosecution was ended, Lincoln introduced a few witnesses to remove some erroneous impressions in regard to the previous character of his client, who, though somewhat rowdyish, had never been known to commit a vicious act; and to show that a greater

degree of ill-feeling existed between the accuser and accused, than the accused and deceased. The prosecution felt that the case was a clear one, and his opening speech was brief and formal. Lincoln arose, while a deathlike silence pervaded the vast audience, and in a clear moderate tone began his argument. Slowly and carefully he reviewed the testimony, pointing out the hitherto unobservable discrepancies in the statement of the principal witness. That which had seemed plain and plausible, he made to appear crooked as a serpent's path. The witness had stated that the affair took place at a certain hour in the evening, and that, by the aid of the brightly shining moon, he saw the prisoner inflict the death-blow with a slung-shot. Mr. Lincoln showed that at the hour referred to, the moon had not yet appeared above the horizon, and consequently the whole tale was a fabrication. An almost instantaneous change seemed to have been wrought in the minds of his auditors, and the verdict of not guilty was at the end of every tongue. But the advocate was not content with this achievement. His whole being had been for months bound up in this work of gratitude and mercy, and, as the lava of the overcharged crater bursts from its imprisonment, so great thoughts of burning words leaped forth from the soul of the eloquent Lincoln. He drew a picture of the perjurer, so horrid and ghastly that the accuser could sit under it no longer, but reeled and staggered from the court-room; then in words of thrilling pathos, Lincoln appealed to the jurors as fathers of sons who might become fatherless, and as husbands of wives who might be widowed, to yield to no previous impres-

sions, no ill-founded prejudice, but to do his client justice; and as he alluded to the debt of gratitude he owed the boy's sire, tears were seen to fall from many eyes unused to weep. It was near night when he concluded by saying that, if justice were done—as he believed it would be—before the sun should set it would shine on his client a free man. The jury retired, and the court adjourned for the day. Half an hour had not elapsed, when, as the officers of the court and the volunteer attorney sat at the tea-table of their hotel, a messenger announced that the jury had returned to their seats. All repaired immediately to the court-house, and while the prisoner was being brought from the jail, the court-room was filled with citizens of the town. When the prisoner and his mother entered, silence reigned as completely as though the house was empty. The foreman of the jury, in answer to the usual inquiry, delivered the verdict, "not guilty!" The widow dropped into the arms of her son, who lifted her up, and told her to look on him as before—free and innocent. Then, with the words, "Where is Mr. Lincoln?" he rushed across the room, and grasped the hand of his deliverer, while his heart was too full for utterance. Lincoln turned his eyes toward the west, where the sun still lingered in view, and then, turning to the youth, said, "It is not yet sundown, and you are free." I confess that my cheeks were not wholly unwet by tears, and I turned from the affecting scene. As I cast a glance behind, I saw Abraham Lincoln obeying the divine injunction by comforting the widow and the fatherless."

Many anecdotes are related to show the honesty,

benevolence, and philanthropy of Lincoln. The following incident, copied from a metropolitan journal, is all for which we can find space in this notice. The circumstance was related by a teacher from the Five-Points' House of Industry in this city:

"Our Sunday-school in the Five-Points was assembled, one Sabbath morning, a few months since, when I noticed a tall and remarkable-looking man enter the room, and take a seat among us. He listened with fixed attention to our exercises, and his countenance manifested such genuine interest, that I approached him, and suggested that he might be willing to say something to the children. He accepted the invitation with evident pleasure, and, coming forward, began a simple address, which at once fascinated every little hearer, and hushed the room into silence. His language was strikingly beautiful, and his tones musical with intensest feeling. The little faces around would droop into sad conviction, as he uttered sentences of warning, and would brighten into sunshine as he spoke cheerful words of promise. Once or twice he attempted to close his remarks, but the imperative shout of 'Go on!' 'Oh, *do* go on!' would compel him to resume. As I looked upon the gaunt and sinewy frame of the stranger, and marked his powerful head and determined features, now touched into softness by the impressions of the moment, I felt an irrepressible curiosity to learn something more about him, and when he was quietly leaving the room, I begged to know his name. He courteously replied, 'It is Abraham Lincoln, from Illinois.'"

The lesson taught by our brief sketch of this great and good man is full of valuable instruction. A poor

boy,—son of a hardy pioneer, whose highest ambition was comprised in the results of honest industry,—without the means of education in his youth, and arriving at man's estate before learning even the simplest laws of his own language,—we find him to-day, in the meridian of life, a peer with intellectual giants, and occupying a position the proudest might envy. Industry, integrity, and perseverance have won for him this position, and proved once more that

> "Courage, self-sustain'd,
> Outlord's succession's phlegm—and needs no ancestors."

HANIBAL HAMLIN,

OF MAINE,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY,

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN,

OF MAINE,

CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY,

Was born in Paris, Oxford County, Maine, August 27, 1809. His father, Cyrus Hamlin, was a physician and surgeon, and a native of Massachusetts. He was clerk of the courts for several years, and subsequently sheriff of Oxford County. He was one of the leading citizens of his town and county, and died in 1828, aged fifty-eight years.

Mr. Hamlin was fitted for college at an early age, but, his father dying, he abandoned the idea of a college course, and for a while remained at home, and labored on the old homestead farm. He had made choice of the law as a profession, but, before commencing his legal studies, he worked a number of months in a printing office in his native town, and for more than a year conducted the *Jeffersonian*, since merged in the Oxford *Democrat*, in connection with Hon. Horatio King.

Subsequently he studied law with the late Judge Cole, was admitted to the bar, and removed to Hampden, in his native State, where he enjoyed an extensive practice until he voluntarily retired from it.

In 1836 he was elected to represent the town of Hampden in the Maine legislature; and was re-elected in 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, and again in 1847. In 1840

he was a candidate for Congress, as a Democrat, but owing to the great popularity of Gen. Harrison, and the remarkable success of the Whig party in that campaign, he was defeated.

In 1842 he was again candidate for Representative in Congress, and was elected by a large majority; and in 1844 he was again elected to a seat in the same body, by an increased vote.

By the death of Gov. Fairfield, a vacancy occurred in the United States Senate, and on the 26th of May, 1848, Mr. Hamlin was elected for four years to fill that vacancy.

In July, 1851, he was re-elected to the Senate for six years. In 1856 he was elected Governor of Maine, and resigned his seat in the Senate, to assume the duties of the office, January 7, 1857. On the 16th of the same month, he was elected by the Legislature to the United States Senate for six years, and resigned the office of Governor, February 20, 1857. Until he resigned the position, he was for a long time Chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the Senate.

March 5th, 1850, Mr. Hamlin made the first speech in the United States Senate in favor of the unconditional admission of California as a free State; and his speech was then considered one of the most able delivered on that subject. The following extracts from that speech are produced, as serving in some degree to define his position on the questions then agitating the public mind:

* * * * "In this discussion, the whole broad field has been opened—slavery in all its forms, the question relating to the formation of territorial

governments, the question of the boundary of Texas, the question of the restoration of fugitive slaves, and every other question conceivable, and almost inconceivable, connected with them, have been permitted to mingle in the discussion of this body. Sir, with all these questions, I have nothing to do; with all these questions, upon the proposition which is now submitted to us, I have nothing to say. Let them bide their time. * * * * Let the question of slavery in the territories be settled according to the spirit of the Constitution, and the previous action of the Government, and let us deal with Texas—one of these sovereign States—in reducing her boundaries, justly: ay, if you please, generously; but let these matters be discussed and settled where they appropriately belong; and let not the admission of California, as a State, here be either retarded in its progress, or finally prevented by them.

"The people of Califörna seek no entangling alli ances with these or any other questions. They ask the aid of no fortuitous circumstances not directly con nected with them; they ask not to be affected by any circumstances calculated to retard or defeat them. *Let each question depend upon itself, and let each issue be met in its proper and appropriate manner.*"

* * * * "But, sir, in passing along, while I have no disposition to connect any subject which is not properly connected with California, I may be permitted to make a single remark or two, in relation to what we have often witnessed and heard in this hall I allude to that cry of Disunion! Disunion! which has so often resounded in our ears.

Sir, I have no eulogiums to pronounce upon this Union. It furnishes its own best eulogy. The progress of art, of science, of literature, and of everything that serves to elevate a people; its impress upon our arts and our arms; the respect which our flag commands in every part of the habitable globe; the busy hum of thrift and enterprise that comes up from the marts and market-places of twenty millions of people, speak a more noble eulogy than I could pronounce, were I disposed to eulogize it here. All these things pronounce its greatness, its glory, and its grandeur. I would rather, sir, that my acts as a Senator, and the acts of the people whom I represent, should speak their devotion to that Union which was formed by the wisdom of our fathers, *and which shall be perpetuated by us.*

"There is one other matter to which I wish to refer in this connection. I allude to that state of alarm which has been created here by Senators in speeches of an extraordinary character, or elsewhere by the public press, or by the aid of such stage machinery as could be put in motion. There is a method in all this madness. No man can doubt the design attempted to be accomplished, by first alarming the public mind, and producing through that alarm those results which are desired. I feel that I owe it, sir, to myself, and to those who sent me here, to declare that from all the investigation I have been able to bestow on this subject, and from all the evidence I have been able to obtain from everything which I can see and hear, this so much talked of alarm is entirely unfounded and factitious. There need be no alarm. *There is no*

cause for real alarm; and none should be created by unnecessary fear.

"We, in the non-slaveholding States, are determined there shall be no cause for disturbing the harmony of the States; and we are equally confident that the sound sense and patriotism of the people of all the States, will determine that there shall be no disunion. We once had in that section of the Union from which I come, a class of men who were known to be disunionists. Those who shall pattern after their example, (and there are some) must occupy the same page in history which they have occupied. There is no real alarm—there is no cause or fear of disunion. I have never felt the slightest alarm at any time, and I think we can all now see that the bubble has burst. *This Union will stand as a monument of grandeur, and glory, and greatness, long, long after every Senator here shall have crumbled into dust.* The affections of our people will cling to it, and sustain it, in spite of the madness of party and of politicians."

On arriving at his majority, Mr. Hamlin connected himself with the old Democratic party, and acted with that organization until 1856, when, in a brief speech in the Senate, he publicly withdrew from it, and allied himself to the Republicans. In looking over the records, it appears to us that this change was more in name than in sentiment, for he had always acted with the Free Soil Democrats, and was one of the strongest advocates and supporters of the celebrated "Wilmot Proviso."

One of the first votes cast by him in the Senate was in favor of the Jefferson Proviso, for the restriction of

Slavery, in the bill for the organization of a territorial government for Oregon; and afterward, he voted to insert a similar restriction in the bills giving territorial governments to Utah and New Mexico. The Proviso having been defeated, he voted against the bills in strict accordance with the instructions of the Legislature of Maine.

September 11, 1850, the Senate having under consideration the bill to suppress the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia, the question pending being on the amendment of Mr. Seward to substitute the following, among other provisions, to wit:

"*Sec.* 1. Slavery shall forever cease within the District of Columbia, and all persons held in bondage therein shall be free. The Secretary of the Interior shall audit and pay to all persons holding slaves within the District at the time that this act takes effect, such damages as they shall suffer by the passage thereof, and the sum of two hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated to carry this act into execution, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated," &c.

Mr. Hamlin, in the course of his remarks on the subject, advanced the subjoined sentiments:

"There is an objection to the amendment offered by the Senator from New York, which would control my vote, if there were no other reason in the matter. He proposes to take from the national Treasury a sum of money to pay for the persons to be emancipated here by the provisions of his amendment. I would like very well to learn from that Senator, or from any other Senator, by what provision of the Constitution, by what authority, or by what power, we can appropriate

money from the Treasury for the purpose of paying for emancipated slaves? I know of none. Besides that, I know of no State, and shall be very glad to be informed if there is one, in which, where slaves have been emancipated, payment has been made for them. It has always been done, I think, in another way—by a prospective system, by a provision that those born after a certain period of time should be free on arriving at a certain age. According to the provisions of this amendment, they are to be emancipated at once, without making any provision for, or taking any care of them; and to pay for them out of the national Treasury. If slavery is to be abolished in this city, it should be done by a gradual system, as in all the States where it has been abolished.

"I know well that private property may be taken for public use, by making compensation therefor. But then it would become public property. And I may well ask, what is to be done with this public property? When we thus take it, and thus contribute from the Treasury to make it free, what is to become of it? It is not, and cannot be, public property in the sense of the Constitution, and the provision of the Constitution certainly cannot apply in this case.

"I shall vote against the amendment, for the reasons which I have briefly stated. It has no connection with this bill, and I see no authority in the Constitution which gives us the power to pay for the slaves so to be emancipated. And I shall vote against the bill abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, if it has connected with it subjects that are, in my opinion, improperly there. I am for taking these questions, as I

have all of them, singly—each by itself—so that each Senator can vote according to the dictates of his own judgment. While I desire to vote to abolish the slave trade in this District, I will not do it if you connect with it subjects which have no necessary and proper connection with it. And thus, if I cannot, in a direct and positive way, be permitted to vote for the object which I desire, I will do on this occasion, as I have done on all others—vote against the whole. *I desire to favor such a bill as can pass, and which will abolish the slave trade in this District;* and I regret that amendments, which cannot pass, and may defeat the bill, have been offered."

Mr. Hamlin's record, during his long and industrious congressional career, seems to be uniformly consistent, and in perfect harmony with the character of the man. Straight-forward, decided, expressing his sentiments without fear or favor, but with that natural dignity always a characteristic of the true gentleman, he commands the worthy regard of all parties; and his reputation for honesty of purpose and zealous love for what he considers the Right, is of infinitely more value to him than any political preferment. May he ever view it so!

In justice to Mr. Hamlin, we may be permitted to state that no man in Congress, for the past twenty years, has been more faithful, or has labored more untiringly to aid poor but honest claimants upon the bounty of the government, than he. There is scarcely a town in the State of Maine where you will not find men who have been made invalids in their country's

service, or widows and orphans, who are now living upon the little bounty obtained for their relief through his prompt and effective labors. No honest complainant, however poor or humble, was ever coldly turned away from the presence of Senator Hamlin; and in one instance, where his own mind was convinced of the justice of the claim, but lacking the necessary proof to substantiate it, he individually assumed the functions of government, and voted a liberal pension from his own private purse. Schemes of public plunder which frequently find their way into Congress, seem never to have found favor with him.

A trait of character that has always given him great popularity with his friends and neighbors, and those with whom he has had business transactions, is his strict honesty and stern moral integrity. No man can truly say that Hannibal Hamlin ever cheated or wronged him to the value of a penny, or that he was ever guilty of a mean or unworthy action.

Before he became a member of Congress, Mr. Hamlin had an extensive practice as a lawyer. Since his election to the Senate he has abandoned it as incompatible with the labors of his position; and now, when not actually engaged in his public duties, may be found at work, (in the *working* sense of the word,) on his farm, in the rural, quiet town of Hamden, where, at his hospitable home, his friends always meet a hearty welcome.

Such is a brief outline of the life and character of Hannibal Hamlin. Possessed of great legislative experience, wise in counsel, bold and determined in action,

true to his friends, and yielding to none in patriotic devotion to his country—according to his life-time convictions of what is for her best good—he is deservedly regarded as a favorite of the party to which he belongs, and justly entitled to its honors.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Is the oldest political organization in the United States. We do not propose to sketch its history, which, according to the testimony of its adherents, would embrace the history of our government, from the days of Jefferson to the present time,—but merely to give such a statement of facts as will show where it stands in the campaign of 1860, and the position of its candidates on the great questions of the day.

The Democratic Party has always claimed, with a fair show of reason, to be a conservative organization, supporting the institutions of our country in the spirit of their Revolutionary founders, under the teaching of such statesmen as Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Polk. Under the administrations of these renowned patriots, it challenged universal respect, and contributed largely to the advancement and general prosperity of our glorious Union.

No party has ever existed whose history shows so firm and united a purpose to labor together for the advancement of its principles, as is shown in the history of Democracy; and no more remarkable event ever occurred in the history of an important political organization, than the recent nomination of two sets of Democratic candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

On the assembling of the National Democratic Convention at Charleston, it was found that a portion of the delegates from the Southern States had been sent there under special instructions to demand the incorporation into the platform of the party of the proposition that it is the duty of Congress to legislate for the protection of slavery in the territories of the United States, and to withdraw if the demand should be refused. The insertion of such a clause in the platform was regarded, by a large majority of the delegates, as a virtual abrogation of the principle of non-

intervention, and directly militating against the provisions of the Nebraska Bill; consequently the demand was denied, and the delegates who had submitted it withdrew from the Convention, in accordance with their instructions. Believing it inexpedient to make nominations under these circumstances, the remaining delegates adjourned, to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June, and the seceders adjourned to meet at Richmond on the 15th of the same month.

On the re-assembling of the Convention, the difficulty that had proved so disastrous at Charleston, was found to still exist. The seceding delegations were returned, some accredited to Richmond, and others to Baltimore, and instructed to make the same demand, and to withdraw if it should be refused. Another set of delegates had been appointed in Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia, by conventions of democrats who still adhered to the doctrine of non-intervention, to fill the vacant seats of the seceders. Those of Alabama and Louisiana were admitted, and the seceding delegations rejected; and the seceding delegates from Georgia were admitted. They were all dissatisfied at the decisions of the Convention, touching the various contests for seats—retired—organized an independent Convention, under the title of the "National Democracy of the United States," adopted a platform (which will be found in another part of this volume), and nominated, for the Presidency, John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky; for the Vice-Presidency, Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

The delegates who remained in what is generally considered the regular Democratic Convention, also adopted a platform (which we re-produce elsewhere in this publication), and nominated, for the Presidency, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois; for the Vice-Presidency, Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama. Mr. Fitzpatrick declined the nomination thus tendered him, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was nominated to stand on the ticket in his place.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

OF ILLINOIS,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

FOR PRESIDENT.

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS,

OF ILLINOIS,

CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

Was born at Brandon, Rutland County, Vermont, 23rd of April, 1813. His father, a native of New York, and a physician of prominence, died suddenly of appoplexy when Stephen was little more than two months old. The widow, who still survives to witness the greatness of her son, took her infant and a daughter, some eighteen months older, to a farm which she inherited conjointly with an unmarried brother.

From the age of ten to that of fifteen years, Stephen was sent to the Common Schools of the neighborhood; during most of which term he was noted for remarkable aptitude for his studies, and was very diligent and attentive. His quick perception, excellent memory, and determination to excel, were subjects of remark by his teachers, even at that early period, and the reputation he sustained as a "good scholar," was a source of just pride to himself and his friends. His disposition was amiable and kind, of which fact there are numerous instances related by those who werehis school-fellows. His temper, however, was naturally quick and vivacious, and sometimes required excellent generalship to keep it under proper training.

At the age of fifteen, he expressed to his friends an

earnest desire to prepare for college; but it was reluctantly decided at a family counsel that the expense of a collegiate education would make the realization of that idea impossible; in which event he is reported to have said, "Well, then, I will take care of myself!" In pursuance of this brief but decided declaration of independence, which he seems to have kept prominently in view from that day to this, he apprenticed himself to the trade of cabinet-making, then an excellent and lucrative business. He labored at this trade for eighteen months, and then abandoned it altogether, as it proved too severe for his constitution. The now solid-bodied and sturdy Senator, who, buoyed up by the force of his intellect, can undergo any amount of fatigue in travel and public speaking, was then a stripling, and not over-hardy. Were he to undertake *cabinet-making* again, (of which it is said he has some idea,) physical disability will not interpose to prevent the accomplishment of his purpose. Entering the academy at Brandon, at the age of seventeen, he pursued his studies with great diligence for a year, when his mother, after a widowhood of eighteen years, having married Mr. Granger, of Ontairo County, New York—whose son had previously wedded her daughter; he removed to Canandaigua with his mother, and entered the academy at that place. Finishing his academical course, he decided to make the law his profession, and, for this purpose entered the office of Messrs. Hubbell, at Canandaigua, and applied himself diligently until 1833.

The activity of his nature, which no doubt was the secret of his ill-health under the discipline of the workshop, would not allow him to rest in Canandaigua.

Young, ambitious, and with an instinctive perception of the latent power within him, he desired a fresh field. The West, new and undeveloped, was then the land of promise to the poor and the aspiring; and thither, in the spring of 1833, he started on a hopeful journey in search of an eligible location in which to woo and win fortune as a lawyer. He visited a number of cities and towns: among them, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, and Jacksonville, Illinois. At Winchester, a little town sixteen miles from Jacksonville, he found there was no school, and immediately opened one. He obtained forty pupils, whom he taught at $3,00 per quarter, and was considered *the* schoolmaster in all the region round about that locality. He devoted his evenings, during the term of his school, to the prosecution of his law studies; and in March, 1834, he was admitted to practice by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State. Henceforward the success of Mr. Douglas's was a marvel and a wonder. The rapidity with which he rose to distinction at the bar can only be surpassed by the dashing triumphs of his political career. In less than a year after his admission to the bar, and while not yet twenty-two years of age, he was elected, by the Legislature of Illinois, Attorney-general of the State. In December, 1835, he resigned this office, having been elected to the Legislature by the Democrats of Morgan County. He was the youngest member of that body, but sustained himself with honor, and continued to ingratiate himself in the affections of his colleagues and constituents.

In 1837 he was appointed Register of the Land

Office at Springfield, by President Van Buren, which position he filled until 1839, when he resigned. In the meantime, although ineligible on the score of age, Mr. Douglas received the Democratic nomination for Congress. He attained the legal age before the day of election,—first Monday in August, 1838,—but lost the election by what his party viewed as a quibble. His congressional district was then the most populous in the State; and the closeness of the vote shows how thoroughly the canvass must have been conducted. More than 36,000 votes were cast, and the Whig candidate was declared elected by a majority of *five*,—there being more ballots rejected by the canvassers in consequence of the mis-spelling of Mr. Douglas's name than would have changed the result. The election was very generally regarded as a triumph of the young candidate for congressional honors.

Mr. Douglas now devoted himself with assiduity to the practice of his profession, and distinguished himself as an advocate in several important cases. His popularity among his friends and neighbors continued to increase, and as his abilities were tested more and more, and found equal to every emergency, the feeling with which he was regarded amounted to something near idolatry.

In 1840, he entered the Presidential contest in favor of Mr. Van Buren, in which service he traversed the State for seven months, and addressed more than two hundred political gatherings; and to his great exertions is ascribed the adherence of Illinois to Democracy in that eventful and exciting campaign. Illinois cast her full vote for Mr. Van Buren,

December, 1840, he received the appointment of Secretary of State for Illinois; and in February following, he was elected by the Legislature a Judge of the Supreme Court—the title of which office has ever since remained associated with his name in the popular mind.

In 1843, he resigned his seat on the bench to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress, which was tendered him against his urgently-expressed wishes, but the acceptance of which was successfully urged on the ground that he was the only Democrat who could be elected. He was chosen by a majority of four hundred—more by one-half than he or his friends had counted upon.

In 1844, he was re-elected by a majority of nineteen hundred, and again in 1846 by nearly three thousand majority. However, he did not take his seat under the last election, having in the meantime been elevated to the United States Senate for six years from March 4, 1847; in which high position he has continued ever since.

During the first year of his congressional life, Mr. Douglas was not what could be called a talking member. He spoke rarely and briefly, familiarizing himself, by observation and study, with the rules of debate and the usages of parliamentary bodies. His first speech in Congress was upon the improvement of Western lakes and harbors, delivered Dec. 19, 1843, and in support of his own motion that so much of the President's message as related to that subject, be referred to a select committee. He moved the appointment of a select committee, "because the question involved important

interests, requiring an accurate knowledge of the condition of the country, its navigable streams, and the obstructions to be removed. A thorough examination of subjects so various, extensive and intricate, and requiring so much patient labor and toil, could not be expected from those who reside at a great distance from the objects of their labors. He desired a full, elaborate and detailed report from those whose local positions would stimulate them. Let this be granted, and the friends of the measure would be content to leave its policy and propriety to the judgment of the House." Mr. Douglas has never ceased to take a lively interest in river and harbor improvements, and the protection of inland navigation; however, he is said to have become early convinced that the practice of making appropriations from the federal Treasury for such purposes, utterly failed to accomplish their object, and that a system of tonnage duties, which he matured, and on several occasions introduced into the Senate, should be substituted for congressional appropriations.

January 7, 1844, he delivered his celebrated speech on the bill to refund to General Jackson the fine imposed on him by Judge Hall, of New Orleans. The subjoined extracts will show the quality of that effort:

"I maintain," said Mr. Douglas, "that in the exercise of the power of proclaiming martial law, General Jackson did not violate the Constitution, nor assume to himself any authority not fully authorized and legalized by his position, his duty, and the necessity of the case. General Jackson was the agent of the government, legally and constitutionally authorized to defend the

city of New Orleans. It was his duty to do this at all hazards. It was then conceded, and is now conceded, that nothing but martial law would enable him to perform that duty. His power was commensurate with his duty, and he was authorized to use the means essential to its performance. This principle has been recognized and acted upon by all civilized nations, and is familiar to all who are conversant with military history. It does not imply the right to suspend the laws and civil tribunals at pleasure. The right grows out of the necessity. The principle is, that the commanding general may go as far, and no farther, than is absolutely necessary to the defence of the place committed to his protection. There are exigencies in the history of nations when necessity becomes the paramount law, to which all other considerations must yield. If it becomes necessary to blow up a fort, it is right to do it. If it is necessary to sink a ship, it is right to sink it. If it is necessary to burn a city, it is right to burn it."

Mr. Douglas gave a graphic description of the state of affairs at New Orleans in December, 1814, and January, 1815, concluding thus:

"The enemy, composed of disciplined troops, four times as numerous as our own force, were in the immediate vicinity of the city, ready for the attack at any moment; the city filled with traitors, anxious to surrender; spies transmitting information to the enemy's camp. The governor of the State, the judges, the public authorities, and all the chief citizens, earnestly entreated Gen. Jackson to declare martial law, as the only means of maintaining the safety of the city. Gen. Jackson promptly issued the order, and

enforced it by the weight of his authority. The city was saved. The country was defended by a succession of the most brilliant military achievements that ever adorned the annals of any country or any age. Martial law was continued no longer than the danger existed. Judge Hall himself had advised, urged and solicited Gen. Jackson to declare it." * * * *

"I envy not the feelings of the man who can calmly reason about the force of precedents, in the fury of the war-cry, when 'booty and beauty,' is the watchword. Talk not to me of 'forms and rules of Court,' when the enemy's cannon are pointed at the door! The man who could philosophize at such times, would fiddle while the capitol was burning. There was but one form necessary on that occasion, and that was to point cannon and destroy the enemy." * * *

"I grant that the bill is unprecedented; but I desire, on this day, to make a precedent that shall command the admiration of the world. Besides, sir, the government has repeatedly recognized and sanctioned the doctrine, that in cases of necessity, the commander is fully justified in superseding the civil law; and that Congress will make remuneration, when the commander acted with the view of promoting the public interests. The people demand this measure, and they will never be satisfied till their wishes shall have been respected and their will obeyed."

The bill passed, and the fine was refunded. Some time afterwards, Mr. Douglas, together with several other members of Congress, called on the venerable hero and patriot at the Hermitage. When he was introduced, the old general grasped him warmly by

the hand, and invited him into a private room; and there, in the presence of two other gentlemen, still living,—one of whom recently made public the facts of this memorable interview,—the old soldier, in a voice trembling with emotion, thus addressed the young statesman: "Mr. Douglas, I read, with feelings of lively gratitude, your speech in Congress last winter, in favor of remitting the fine imposed on me by Judge Hall. I knew, when I proclaimed and enforced martial law, that I was doing right; but never, until I had read your speech, could I have expressed the reason which actuated my conduct. I knew that I was not violating the Constitution of my country. When my life is written, I wish that speech of yours to be inserted in it, as my reasons for proclaiming and enforcing martial law in New Orleans."

That was a proud moment for Stephen A. Douglas,—that day he wanted to be "neither Emperor nor King."

The Oregon question was agitated while Mr. Douglas was a member of the House, and he was decided in the maintenance of our title up to 54° 40′, and declared that he would never consent to yield one inch of that territory to England or any other government. He was in favor of the resolution giving notice to terminate the joint occupation, and advocated with great fervor the establishment of a territorial government, under the protection of a sufficient military force, and the immediate preparation of the country, so that in the event of a war growing out of what he deemed an assertion of our rights, we might "drive Great Britain, and the last vestiges of royal authority, from the conti-

nent of North America, and make the United States an ocean-bound republic."

He was among the earliest advocates of the annexation of Texas; on which subject he made an able speech on the 6th of January, 1845. As chairman of the Committee on Territories, in 1846, he reported the joint resolution declaring Texas one of the United States; and he ably sustained Polk's Administration in its war measures with Mexico. He opposed the treaty of peace closing the Mexican war, however, on the ground that the boundaries were "unnatural and inconvenient," and that the provisions in regard to the Indians "could never be executed." Very substantial proof of the correctness of these views is found in the fact that government has since given ten millions of dollars to Mexico to alter the boundaries and relinquish the Indian stipulations.

So far as the question of slavery was involved in the organization of Territories and the admission of new States, Mr. Douglas early took the position that Congress ought not to interfere on either side; but that the people of each Territory and State should be allowed to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. With this view, he opposed the Wilmot Proviso, in 1847, when it passed the House as an amendment to the $3,000,000 bill for the peace treaty with Mexico, and afterward in the Senate, when offered as an amendment to the bill for the organization of the territory of Oregon.

In August, 1848, he offered an amendment to the Oregon bill, extending the Missouri Compromise line —36° 30′—westward to the Pacific ocean, in the sense

in which it was adopted in 1820, and extended through Texas in 1845. The amendment passed the Senate, having the support of all the Southern and several Northern Senators; but was defeated in the House by an almost sectional vote.

January, 1850, Mr. Clay offered his celebrated resolutions, which became the basis of the subsequent legislation of that session, known as the Compromise Measures, and Mr. Douglas supported them with zeal and vigor. On the 13th and 14th of March he delivered a speech on the territorial questions, in which he first enunciated the doctrine, of which he has ever since been the most distinguished advocate, that it is the true and equitable principle in reference to the territories, that each shall be left to regulate its own local and domestic affairs in its own way.

In the course of this great speech, replying to the complaint of a distinguished Southern Senator, to the effect that the South had been deprived of its due share of the territories, Mr. Douglas held the following language: "What share *had* the South in the territories? or the North? I answer, none at all. The territories belong to the United States as one people, and are to be disposed of for the common benefit of all, according to the principles of the Constitution. No geographical section of the Union is entitled to any share of the territories. What becomes of the complaint of the Senator, that the ordinance of 1787 excluded the South entirely from that vast fertile region between the Ohio and the Mississippi? That ordinance was a dead letter. It did not make the country to which it applied free from slavery. The States formed out of the terri-

tory north-west of the Ohio, did not become free by virtue of the ordinance, nor in consequence of it. Those States became free by virtue of their own will, recorded in the fundamental laws of their own making. That is the source of their freedom. In all republican States, laws and ordinances are mere nullities, unless sustained by the hearts and intellects of the people for whom they are made, and by whom they are to be enacted.

"The ordinance of 1787 did the South no harm, and the North no good. Illinois, for instance, was a slave territory. Even in 1840, there were 331 slaves in Illinois. How came these slaves in Illinois? They were taken there under the ordinance, and in defiance of it. The people of Illinois, while it was a Territory, were mostly emigrants from the slave holding-States; but when their convention assembled at Kaskaskia, in 1818, to form the Constitution of the State of Illinois, although it was composed of slaveholders; yet they have become satisfied, from experience, that the climate and productions of Illinois were unfavorable to slave labor; and they accordingly made provision for a gradual system of emancipation, by which the State should become eventually free. The facts show that the ordinance had no practical effect upon slavery. Slavery existed under the ordinance; and since the ordinance has been suspended by the State Government, slavery has gradually disappeared under the operation of laws adopted and executed by the people themselves. A law passed by the national legislature, to operate locally upon a people not represented, will always remain a dead letter, if it be in opposition to

the wishes and interests of those who are to be affected by it.

"In regard to the effects of the Missouri Compromise on the question of slavery, I do not think that it had any practical effect on that question, one way or another; it neither curtailed nor extended slavery one inch.

"We recognize the right of the South, in common with our right, to emigrate to the Territories with their property, and there hold and enjoy it in subordination to the laws in force there." * * * *

Mr. Douglas then proceeded to advocate, at great length, the immediate admission of the State of California under her constitution; and concluded his speech by declaring that "this nation owes to the venerable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) a debt of gratitude for his services to the Union on this occasion. The purity of his motives cannot be doubted. He has set the ball in motion which is to restore peace and harmony to the Union."

June 3, 1850, Mr. Douglas spoke in favor of the Omnibus bill, and in the course of his remarks said:

"In respect to African slavery, the position that I have ever taken has been, that this, and all other questions relating to the domestic affairs and domestic policy of the Territories, ought to be left to the decision of the people themselves. I would therefore have much preferred that the bill should have remained as it was reported from the Committee on Territories, with no provision on the subject of slavery; and I do hope that that clause in the bill will be stricken out. It ought not to be there, because it is a violation of principle. I do not see how we, who have argued in

favor of the right of the people to legislate for themselves on this question, can support such a provision without abandoning all the arguments which we urged in the Presidential campaign of 1848, and the principles set forth by the Senator from Michigan in the Nicholson letter.

"And, sir, is an institution to be fixed upon a people in opposition to their unanimous opinion? I, for one, think that such ought not to be the case I desire no provision whatever in respect to slavery in the Territories. I wish to leave the people of the Territories free to enact such laws as they please. But on this one point, I am not left to follow my own judgment, nor my own desire. I am to express the will of my constituents. My vote will be in accordance with their instructions."

June 6th, and also on 26th, Mr. Douglas addressed the Senate, in speeches of great power' supporting the Compromise Measures. The passage of those measures, and subsequent events connected therewith, are now a part of the history of the country, and have fully justified the wisdom and patriotism of their supporters.

February 12th, 1851, Mr. Douglas spoke in favor of conferring the rank of Lieutenant-General on Winfield Scott. February 22nd, in the debate on the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, shortly after the riot in Boston, Mr. Douglas said:

"The laws of Illinois have always discouraged negroes from coming there. In regard to runaway slaves coming into the State, we have a law imposing penalties, at the discretion of the court, upon any citizen

of Illinois who would harbor a runaway slave. It has been my fortune, in the course of my brief judicial experience, to impose severe penalties upon citizens of Illinois for a violation of that law; it remains upon the statute-book at this day. The Senator from Ohio looks upon this matter of the rescue of a fugitive at Boston, as a trivial transaction. I do not. It is well known that there is a systematic organization in many of the free States of this Union, for the purpose of evading the obligations of the Constitution, and to prevent the enforcement of the laws of the United States in relation to fugitive slaves. It has, at its head, men of daring and of desperate purpose; and the opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law is a combined and concerted action. It is in the nature of a conspiracy against the government. I say, therefore, that these conspirators, be they in Boston or Illinois, are responsible for all that any of their number may do in resistance to this law. Sir, I hold white men now in my sight responsible for the violation of the law at Boston. It was done under their advice, under their teaching, under the influence of their speeches. The negroes in the free States have been armed by the abolitionist during the last six months, for the express purpose of violating the Fugitive Slave Law. I have stood in a meeting of 2,000 men, and heard white men tell the negroes to kill the first white man who attempted to execute this law. I have seen the weapons that have been prepared by white abolitionists, to enable the negroes to resist. I trust the penalty will fall upon the white abolitionists."

August 26, 1852, Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, made

a speech against the Fugitive Slave Law, and in favor of its repeal. Mr. Douglas said, in reply:

"The arguments against Fugitive Slave Law, are arguments against the Constitution of our country. Gentlemen should pass over the law, and make their assaults directly upon the Constitution of the United States, in obedience to which the law was passed. Let them proclaim to the world that they feel bound to make violent resistance to the Consitution which our fathers have transmitted to us. The Constitution provides that no man shall be a Senator unless he takes an oath to support the Constitution. And when he takes that oath, I do not understand that he has a right to have a mental reservation, or entertain any mental equivocation that he excepts that clause which relates to the surrender of fugitives. I know not how a man reconciles it to his conscience to take that oath to support the Constitution, when he believes that Constitution is in violation of the law of God. A man who thus believes, and yet takes the oath, commits perjury before God for the sake of the temporary honors of a seat on this floor."

In December, 1853, Mr. Douglas reported the bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, embracing the famous doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty; which, after a long debate, numerous amendments, and fierce opposition from the free-soilers in Congress, became a law in March, 1854.

Mr. Douglas was fiercely and savagely denounced by his constituency, and generally throughout the Northern States. He was burned and hung in effigy in half the towns and villages north of Mason and Dixon's line.

When he returned to Chicago he was met by a savage and brutal mob, and loaded with opprobrium and abuse. He gave notice that he would address the people in the open square, front of the North-Market Hall, in defence of the principle involved in the Kansas-Nebraska bill; but it was determined on the part of his opponents that he should not be heard.

On the day of the meeting, the flags of the shipping in the harbor were hung at half-mast in pursuance of a previous arrangement of his enemies; and the church-bells were rung as a signal for the mob to assemble. They did assemble, ten thousand strong, many of them armed with bowie-knives and pistols, and organized into companies, with their leaders, ready for action at the given signal. When Mr. Douglas appeared on the stand, he was greeted with the most unearthly howls; when he commenced to speak, they threw eggs, stones and clubs, and fired pistols to create a tumult and break up the meeting. During four hours he maintained his position—sometimes appealing to them,—then ridiculing,—then denouncing their cowardice in combining to put down with force and violence a single man, who used no other weapons than truth and reason. His efforts were futile; mob-law was supreme. Having held them at bay from eight o'clock in the evening of Saturday till past twelve, in the midst of their imprecations and violence, he deliberately took out his watch, and, looking at it, said to the crowd, "It is Sunday morning! I have to go to church; and you may go to h——l!" He then retired, pursued by the mob to his hotel.

He immediataly made appointments throughout the

State, and appealed to the people to rally in defence of the great principle that every community should govern itself in respect to its local and domestic affairs. The people of Illinois did rally, and gave Mr. Buchanan a Democratic majority in 1856, on this distinct issue. It was the question of that campaign in the North-west, and was fully expounded to the people by Mr. Douglas at scores of Buchanan meetings.

After the election of Mr. Buchanan, it is a well-established fact that he consulted Mr. Douglas with regard to the policy to be pursued in the affairs of Kansas; and that there was no disagreement on the important point, viz: that the Constitution which was about to be formed at Lecompton should be submitted to and ratified by the people, at a fair election to be held for that purpose, before Kansas could be admitted as a State.

That there was afterward a decided disagreement between these eminent statesmen on this point, is well known; but we cannot be expected, in a sketch like this, to discuss the merits of that disagreement. Mr. Buchanan receded from his position, and favored the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, without submitting the Constitution to the people for ratification or rejection. Mr. Douglas insisted that he was bound in honor, good faith, and due regard for the fundamental principles of all free government, to resist the measure at every hazard; and this is supposed to be the sole cause of difference between him and the President.

Subsequently, by the adoption of the English bill, the Lecompton controversy was settled, so far as Congress was concerned. In a speech in the Senate, after

the passage of this bill, Mr. Douglas referred to the Lecompton controversy as at an end, in these words:

"But when the bill became a law, the whole question was remanded to Kansas, to be decided at an election, which has been fixed for the first Monday in August. Whichever way the people of Kansas may decide the question at that election, will be final and conclusive. If they reject the proposition submitted by Congress, the Lecompton constitution is dead, and there is an end of the controversy. If, on the contrary, they accept the 'proposition,' Kansas, from that moment, becomes a State of the Union, and thus the controversy terminates. Whether they shall accept or reject the proposition is a question for the people of Kansas to decide for themselves, and with which neither Congress nor the people of the several States, nor any person, official or otherwise, outside of that Territory, has any right to interfere. Hence, the Lecompton controversy is at an end; for all men, of all parties, must be content with and abide by whatever decision the people of Kansas may make.

"Under these circumstances, the question naturally arises, what controverted principle is there left for Democrats to differ and divide about?

"In the first place, we all agree, not only Democrats, but men of all parties, that whatever decision the people of Kansas may make at the election on the first Monday in August, must be final and conclusive.

"Now, if we can agree, as I have always avowed my willingness to do, to sustain President Buchanan's recommendation, that in all future cases the constitution shall be submitted to the people, as was required

in the Minnesota case, all matters of dispute and controversy will be at an end, and our Territorial policy will be firmly placed on a wise and just basis."

June 12, 1857, Mr. Douglas addressed the Grand Jury of the United States Court, at Springfield, Illinois, upon the affairs of Kansas and Utah, and the recently-decided Dread Scott case. At the time he made this speech, he had no doubt that Mr. Buchanan would remove Brigham Young and all his adherents from office, cause a searching investigation to be made into all the crimes that have been perpetrated in Utah, and execute the laws by military force, if necessary. No temporizing policy, no half-way measures, no nonsense of any kind, says Mr. Douglas, will avail in this case. "He would first repeal the organic act, absolutely and unconditionally, blotting out of existence the territorial government, and bringing Utah under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States Government."

This mode of grappling the question does not admit of a middle course; it is *not* the plan of sending our army to Utah at an enormous expense, merely to tell Brigham Young to be a good boy, and not act naughty any more: it is the decisive measure that says, You have played the traitor long enough, and now you must suffer the consequences! It is evident that Mr. Douglas never attended a hair-splitting school.

The leading views of Mr. Douglas, on the great questions of the day, are sufficiently indicated in this sketch; but the power and vigor with which he has advocated those views, his tenacious adherence to principle under all circumstances, through evil as well as

good report, and his indomitable perseverance against obstacles and discouragements that would crush ordinary men, can only be appreciated through a comprehensive inspection of all his acts and speeches through his long and remarkably industrious term of public service.—Records of votes and extracts from speeches may be gathered and collected at random, and the same stern, unflinching consistency with declared views, will be found to pervade them all; and records and declarations taken as a whole constitute an edifice of the most symmetrical proportions, and fair to the eye. It is not our province to approve or disapprove of the peculiar views of Senator Douglas; we deal with facts, and leave the reader to form his own deductions.

Dec. 9th, 1857, Mr. Douglas made his great speech in the Senate against the Lecompton Constitution, in reply to a portion of the message of President Buchanan, in the course of which he defined his position as follows:

"We agree that the people shall decide for themselves what kind of a judiciary system they will have; we agree that the people shall decide what kind of a school system they will establish; we agree that the people shall determine for themselves what kind of a banking system they will have, or whether they will have any banks at all; we agree that the people may decide for themselves what shall be the elective franchise in their respective States; they shall decide for themselves what shall be the rule of taxation and the principles upon which their finances shall be regulated; we agree that they may decide for themselves the relations between husband and wife, parent and

child, guardian and ward; and why should we not then allow them to decide for themselves the relations between master and servant? Why make an exception of the slavery question, by taking it out of that great rule of self-government which applies to all the other relations of life? The very first proposition in the Nebraska bill was to show that the Missouri restriction, prohibiting the people from deciding the slavery question for themselves, constituted an exception to a general rule, in violation of the principle of self-government, and hence that that exception should be repealed, and the slavery question, like all other questions, submitted to the people, to be decided for themselves.

"That was the principle on which the Nebraska bill was defended by its friends. Instead of making the slavery question an exception, it removed an odious exception which before existed. Its whole object was to abolish that odious exception, and make the rule general, universal, in its application to all matters which were local and domestic, and not national or federal. For this reason was the language employed which the President has quoted; that the eighth section to the Missouri act, commonly called the Missouri Compromise, was repealed, because it was repugnant to the principle of non-intervention established by the Compromise measures of 1850, 'it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United

States.' We repealed the Missouri restriction, because that was confined to slavery. That was the only exception there was to the general principle of self-government. That exception was taken away for the avowed and expressed purpose of making the rule of self-government general and universal, so that the people should form and regulate all their domestic institutions in their own way.

"Sir, what would this boasted principle of popular sovereignty have been worth, if it applied only to the negro, and did not extend to the white man? Do you think we could have aroused the sympathies and the patriotism of this broad Republic, and have carried the Presidential election last year in the face of a tremendous opposition, on the principle of extending the rights of self-government to the negro question, but denying it as to all the relations affecting white men? No, sir. We aroused the patriotism of the country, and carried the election in defence of that great principle, which allowed all white men to form and regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves—institutions applicable to white men as well as to black men—institutions applicable to freemen as well as to slaves—institutions concerning all the relations of life, and not the mere paltry exception of the slavery question. Sir, I have spent too much strength and breath, and health, too, to establish this great principle in the popular heart, now to see it frittered away by bringing it down to an exception that applies to the negro, and does not extend to the benefit of the white man."

At the conclusion of this speech, he expressed his views in the following language:

"You have no more right to force a free State Consitution on Kansas than a slave State Constitution. If Kansas wants a slave State Constitution, she has a right to it; if she wants a free State Constitution, she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down or voted up. Do you suppose, after the pledges of my honor that I would go for that principle, and leave the people to vote as they choose, that I would now degrade myself by voting one way if the slavery clause be voted down, and another way if it be voted up? I care not how that vote may stand. I take it for granted that it will he voted out. I think I have seen enough in the last three days to make it certain that it will be returned out, no matter how the vote may stand.

"Sir, I am opposed to that concern, because it looks to me like a system of trickery and jugglery to defeat the fair expression of the will of the people. There is no necessity for crowding this measure, so unfair, so unjust as it is in all its aspects, upon us. Why can we not now do what we proposed to do in the last Congress? We then voted through the Senate an enabling act, called 'the Toombs' bill,' believed to be just and fair in all its provisions, pronounced to be almost perfect by the Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) only he did not like the man, then President of the United States, who would have to make the appointments. Why can we not take that bill, and, out of compliment to the President, add to it a clause taken from the Minnesota Act, which he thinks should be a general rule, requiring the constitution to be submitted to the people, and pass that? That unites the party. You all voted, with me, for that bill, at the last Congress. Why not stand by the same bill now?

Ignore Lecompton, ignore Topeka, treat both those party movements as irregular and void; pass a fair bill —the one that we framed ourselves when we were acting as a unit; have a fair election, and you will have peace in the Democratic party, and peace throughout the country, in ninety days. The people want a fair vote. They will never be satisfied without it. They never should be satisfied without a fair vote on their Constitution.

"If the Toombs' bill does not suit my friends, take the Minnesota bill of the last session—the one so much commended by the President in his message as a model. Let us pass that as an enabling act, and allow the people of all parties to come together and have a fair vote, and I will go for it. . Frame any other bill that secures a fair, honest vote to men of all parties, and carries out the pledge that the people shall be left free to decide on their domestic institutions for themselves, and I will go with you with pleasure, and with all the energy I may possess. But if this Constitution is to be forced down our throats, in violation of the fundamental principle of free government, under a mode of submission that is a mockery and insult, I will resist it to the last. I have no fear of any party associations being severed. I should regret any social or political estrangement, even temporarily; but if it must be, if I cannot act with you, and preserve my faith and my honor, I will stand on the great principle of popular sovereignty, which declares the right of all people to be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. I will follow that principle wherever its logical consequences may take me, and I will endeavor

to defend it against assault from any and all quarters. No mortal man shall be responsible for my action but myself. By my action I will compromit no man."

When Mr. Douglas spoke as above, his audience was not simply the Senate of the United States, but the whole country. The eyes of the nation were on him then, as they are on him now; the popular ear was intently listening to catch every expression from his tongue, for the chivalrous boldness with which he had entered the arena, and bearded Lecompton in the house of its friends and supporters, was unexpected and startling to those who did not know the man; and proves that the same spirit of independence now actuates him that impelled the young Douglas, at the age of fifteen, to exclaim, "Well, I will take care of myself." It was the grand *coup-d'e-tat* of an accomplished strategist who knows his strength, his points and advantages, and can make the most of them; and whatever view we may take of his peculiar sentiments, we cannot avoid expressing our admiration for the brilliant and determined manner in which he has asserted and maintained his position.

It appears supererogatory and almost useless to attempt to interpret between this powerful mind and the public; but when we say that his appeals for the measures he advocates, are addressed more to the impulses of the popular heart, than to the sober, unimpassioned judgment of the popular head, we mean in nowise to detract from the importance of his measures, nor the effectiveness of his efforts in their advancement. He rarely fails, when he makes the effort in that direction, to convince the judgment of his auditors,

and make reasonable progress in their affections at the same time.

In some instances, we have viewed him as too impulsive and revolutionary,—inclined to act on the spur of the occasion, without that deliberative coolness that should characterize a great statesman. However, this apparent impulsiveness may be in a great degree accounted for by the almost unexampled facility with which he forms his judgments, and the wonderful expedition that resolves them into action. His speech in the Senate, May 29th, 1858, on the general subject of the recent British aggressions on our shipping, while it was powerful and impressive, was viewed by many as too warlike in its tone, and advocating measures that would more than meet the emergency. He urged that the President should be clothed with power to punish, instantly and effectually, all outrages on our flag as soon as committed: "confer the power, and hold him responsible for its abuse." He contended that the President of the United States was utterly powerless abroad, and that unless some such measure as he proposed were adopted, Great Britain would continue these outrages.

"While I am opposed to war," said he, "while I have no idea of any breach of the peace with England, yet, I confess to you, sir, if war should come by her act, and not ours; by her invasion of our rights, and our vindication of the same; I would administer to every citizen, and every child, Hanibal's oath of eternal hostility, as long as the English flag waved, or their government claimed a foot of land upon the American continent or the adjacent islands. I would

make it a war that would settle our disputes forever, not only of the right of search upon the seas, but the right to tread with a hostile foot upon the soil of the American continent or its appendages."

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, in June, 1858, Mr. Douglas returned to Illinois, to canvass the State for re-election to the Senate, and to vindicate the line of policy he had thought it his duty to pursue. He was received at Chicago with great enthusiasm,—some thirty thousand people having gathered together to greet his return. We make the following extract from his reply to the address of welcome:

"If there is any one principle dearer and more sacred than all others in free governments, it is that which asserts the exclusive right of a free people to form and adopt their own fundamental law, and to manage and regulate their own internal affairs and domestic institutions.

"When I found an effort being made, during the recent session of Congress, to force a constitution upon the people of Kansas against their will, and to force that State into the Union with a constitution which her people had rejected by more than 10,000 majority, I felt bound, as a man of honor and a representative of Illinois—bound by every consideration of duty, of fidelity, and of patriotism—to resist to the utmost of my power the consummation of what I deemed fraud. With others I did resist it, and resisted it successfully until the attempt was abandoned. We forced them to refer that constitution back to the people of Kansas, to be accepted or rejected, as they shall decide at an election, which is fixed for the first Monday of August

next. It is true that the mode of reference and the form of submission was not such as I could sanction with my vote, for the reason that it discriminated between free States and slave States; providing that if Kansas consented to come in under the Lecompton constitution, it should be received with a population of 35,000; but if she demanded another constitution, more consistent with the sentiments of her people and their feelings, that it should not be received into the Union until she had 93,420 inhabitants. I did not consider that mode of submission fair, for the reason that any election is a mockery which is not free—that any election is a fraud upon the rights of the people which holds out inducements for affirmative votes, and threatens penalties for negative votes. But whilst I was not satisfied with the mode of submission, whilst I resisted it to the last, demanding a fair, a just, a free mode of submission, still, when the law passed, placing it within the power of the people of Kansas at that election to reject the Lecompton constitution, and then make another in harmony with their principles and their opinions, I did not believe that either the penalties on the one hand, or the inducements on the other, would prevail on that people to accept a constitution to which they are irreconcilably opposed. All I can say is, that if their votes can be controlled by such considerations, all the sympathy which has been expended upon them has been misplaced, and all the efforts that have been made in defence of their right to self-government have been made in an unworthy cause.

"I will be entirely frank with you. My object was to secure the right of the people of each State and of

each Territory, North or South, to decide the question for themselves, to have slavery or not, just as they choose; and my opposition to the Lecompton Constitution *was not predicated upon the ground that it was a pro-slavery Constitution;* nor would my action have been different had it been a free-soil Constitution. My speech against it was made on the 9th of December, while the vote on the slavery clause in that Constitution was not taken until the 21st of the same month, nearly two weeks after. I made my speech solely on the ground that it was a violation of the fundamental principles of free government; on the ground that it was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas; that it did not embody their will; that they were averse to it; and hence I denied the right of Congress to force it upon them, either as a free State or a slave State. I deny the right of Congress to force a slave-holding State upon an unwilling people. I deny their right to force a free State upon an unwilling people. I deny their right to force a good thing upon a people who are unwilling to receive it. The great principle is the right of every community to judge and decide for itself whether a thing is right or wrong, whether it would be good or evil for them to adopt it; and the right of free action, the right of free thought, the right of free judgment upon the question, is dearer to every true American than any other under a free government. My objection to the Lecompton contrivance was, that it undertook to put a constitution on the people of Kansas against their will, in opposition to their wishes, and thus violated the great principle upon which all our institutions rest. It is no answer to this

argument to say that slavery is an evil, and hence should not be tolerated. You must allow the people to decide for themselves whether it is a good or an evil. You allow them to decide for themselves whether they desire a Maine liquor law or not; you allow them to decide for themselves what kind of common schools they will have; what system of banking they will adopt, or whether they will adopt any at all; you allow them to decide for themselves the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, and guardian and ward; in fact, you allow them to decide for themselves all other questions, and why not upon this question? Whenever you put a limitation upon the right of any people to decide what laws they want, you have destroyed the fundamental principle of self-government."

Never was a political canvass made with more spirit than that inaugurated by this speech. Mr. Lincoln, the candidate of the opposition, was without doubt the ablest man in the Republican party of Illinois, an excellent debater, and thoroughly posted in political history. In the four months occupied by this campaign, Mr. Douglas made one hundred and thirty speeches—one hundred and twenty-seven of which were delivered in the open air. He passed most of the time in rail-cars and carriages, on an average going to bed but three times a week. On one occasion during the canvass, he was five days and nights without taking his clothes off or going to bed. The ground was fiercely contested, inch by inch, and he was obliged to fight all his Kansas battles over again with an opponent who never thought of capitulation or

defeat in his life. The two great minds of the West were combatting for the mastery—the championship, if you will—and this country has probably never witnessed an intellectual exhibition so exciting, nor looked for the result of any contest with more intense anxiety.

Our space will not allow us to describe the campaign in detail. Mr. Douglas reiterated the principles that had governed his action through his public career, and was especially emphatic on squatter sovereignty. As much has been said about the Freeport speech, and the questions propounded by Mr. Lincoln on that occasion, we make room for the following question and answer, as again defining the "Little Giant's" position on the main plank of his platform:

Question by Mr. Lincoln—"Can the people of a Territory of the United States in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

To which Mr. Douglas replied:

"The question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State

in 1854, in 1855 and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question, whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill."

The result of this canvass is well known. Mr. Douglas was elected over Mr. Lincoln, by 54 to 46 votes.

On his return to the Senate after this brilliant triumph, he found himself precipitated into another contest, against fearful odds and numbers, and in defence of the same principle of local self-government. He maintained his position, single-handed, against Senators Brown, Mason, Davis, Hunter, Green, Gwin, and others. February 23, 1859, Mr. Brown, of Miss., made a splendid speech in the Senate, insisting on a code of laws for protecting slavery in the territories. Admitting that, if the people of the territories did not

want negroes, they could lawfully legislate so as to accomplish their purpose, he assumed that it was the right and duty of Congress to enact laws to sustain it against it the popular will. Taking Mr. Douglas's position (as he said) for granted, Mr. Brown desired to hear from other democratic Senators from the free States, and to know whether they would vote to protect the rights of slaveholders in the territories. No one rising for several minutes, Mr. Brown concluded his remarks, and the Senate being about to proceed to the consideration of other subjects, Mr. Douglas arose, and observed that if no other Northern democratic Senator desired to be heard on the points presented by the gentleman from Mississippi, he craved the attention of the Senate. He thanked Mr. Brown for taking his position for granted on the question presented to the other Northern democrats, and said he had yet to know that there was one democrat in the free States who would vote to protect slavery in the territories by congressional enactment against the popular decision. He proceeded to show that all property in the territories, including slaves, is, and must be, subject to the local law of the territorial legislature;—that the territorial legislature has the same power over slaves in the territory, as it has over all other property, and no more; that his past record shows that he would never vote for a congressional slave code for the territories; that such a code is an absurdity; that if the people of a territory want slavery there, they will enact laws for its protection; that it was the intent of the Nebraska bill to confer on the territorial legislature all the power that Congress possessed on the subject of slavery,

to allow them to exercise it as the people of the territory chose; that the provisions of that bill expressly forbid the enactment of a congressional slave code for the territories.

In the course of his remarks, he said:

"The Senator from Mississippi and myself agree that, under the decision of the Supreme Court, slaves are property, standing on an equal footing with all other property; and that, consequently, the owner of slaves has the same right to carry his slaves with him to a Territory, as the owner of any other species of property has to carry *his* property there. The right of transit to and from the Territories is the same for one species of property as it is for all others. Thus far the Senator from Mississippi and myself agree—that slave property in the Territories stands on an equal footing with every other species of property. Now, the question arises, to what extent is property, slaves included, subject to the local law of the Territory? Whatever power the Territorial legislature has over other species of property, extends, in my judgment, to the same extent, and in like manner, to slave property. The Territorial legislature has the same power to legislate in respect to slaves, that it has in regard to any other property, to the same extent, and no further. If the Senator wishes to know what power it has over the slaves in the Territories, I answer, Let him tell me what power it has to legislate over every other species of property, either by encouragement or by taxation, or in any other mode, and he has my answer in regard to slave property.

"But the Senator says that there is something pecu-

liar in slave property, requiring further protection than other species of property. If so, it is the misfortune of those who own that species of property. He tells us that, if the Territorial legislature fails to pass a slave code for the Territories, fails to pass police regulations to protect slave property, the absence of such legislation practically excludes slave property as effectually as a constitutional prohibition would exclude it. I agree to that proposition. He says, furthermore, that it is competent for the Territorial legislature, by the exercise of the taxing power, and other functions within the limits of the Constitution, to adopt unfriendly legislation, which practically drives slavery out of the Territory. I agree to that proposition. That is just what I said, and all I said, and just what I meant by my Freeport speech in Illinois, upon which there has been so much comment throughout the country."

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"The Senator from Mississippi says they ought to pass such a code; but he admits that it is immaterial to inquire whether they ought or ought not to do it; for if they do not want it, they will not enact it; and if they do not do it, there is no mode by which you can compel them to do it. He admits there is no compulsory means by which you can coerce the Territorial legislature to pass such a law; and for that reason he insists that, in case of non-action by the Territorial legislature, it is the right and duty of Southern Senators and Representatives to demand affirmative action by Congress in the enactment of a slave code for the Territories. He says that it is not necessary to put the question to me, whether I would vote for a congres-

sional slave code. He desires to know of all other Northern Democrats what they will do; he does not wish an answer from me. I am much obliged to him for taking it for granted, from my past record, that I would never vote for a slave code in the Territories by Congress; and I have yet to learn that there is a man in a free State of this Union of any party who would."

* * * * * * * *

"Now, sir, I stand on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as it was expounded and understood at the time, with this full power in the Territorial legislature, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court to test the validity of its laws, and no right whatever to appeal to Congress to repeal them in the event of our not liking them. I am ready to answer the inquiry of the Senator from Mississippi, whether, if I believed the Maine liquor law to be unconstitutional and wrong, and if a Territorial legislature should pass it, I would vote here to annul it? I tell him no. If the people of Kansas want a Maine liquor law, let them have it. If they do not want it, let them refuse to pass it. If they do pass it, and any citizen thinks that law violates the Constitution, let him make a case, and appeal to the Supreme Court. If the court sustains his objection, the law is void. If it overrules the objection, the decision must stand until the people, who alone are to be affected by it, who alone have an interest in it, may choose to repeal it. So I say with reference to slavery. Let the Territorial legislature pass just such laws in regard to slavery as they think they have a right to enact under the Constitution of the United States. If I do not like

those laws, I will not vote to repeal them; if you do not like them, you must not vote to repeal them; but anybody aggrieved may appeal to the Supreme Court, and, if they are constitutional, they must stand; if they are unconstitutional, they are void. That was the doctrine of non-intervention, as it was understood at the time the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. That is the way it was explained and argued in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives, and before the country. It was distinctly understood that Congress was never to intervene for or against slavery, or for or against any other institution in the Territories; but leave the courts to decide all constitutional questions as they might arise, and the President to carry the decrees of the court into effect; and, in case of resistance to his authority in executing the judicial process, let him use, if necessary, the whole military force of the country, as provided by existing laws."

* * * * * * * *

"I am glad that the Senator from Mississippi means to have a clear, unequivocal, specific statement of our principles, so that there shall be no cheating on either side. I intend to use language which can be repeated in Chicago as well as in New Orleans, in Charleston the same as in Boston. We live under a common Constitution. No political creed is sound or safe which cannot be proclaimed in the same sense wherever the American flag waves over American soil. If the North and the South cannot come to a common ground on the slavery question, the sooner we know it, the better. The Democracy of the North hold, at least, that the

people of a Territory have the same right to legislate in respect to slavery, as to all other property; and that, practically, it results in this: if they want slavery, they will have it; and if they do not want it, it shall not be forced upon them by an act of Congress. The Senator from Mississippi says that doctrine is right, unless we pass an act of Congress compelling the people of a Territory to have slavery, whether they want it or not. The point he wishes to arrive at is, whether we are for or against congressional intervention. If you repudiate the doctrine of non-intervention, and form a slave code by act of Congress, when the people of a Territory refuse it, you must step off the Democratic platform. We will let you depart in peace, as you no longer belong to us; you are no longer of us when you adopt the principle of congressional intervention, in violation of the Democratic creed. I stand here defending the great principle of non-intervention by Congress, and self-government by the people of the Territories. That is the Democratic creed. The Democracy in the Northern States have so understood it. No Northern Democratic State ever would have voted for Mr. Buchanan, but for the fact that he was understood to occupy that position."

On the question of the African slave trade, Mr. Douglas has expressed himself very fully and explicitly. In a letter to Col. John L. Peyton, of Staunton, Virginia, dated August 2, 1859, he says:

"That question seriously disturbed the harmony of of the Convention that ramed the Federal Constitution. Upon it the delegates divided into two parties, under circumstances which for a time rendered harmonious

action hopeless. The one demanded the instant and unconditional prohibition of the African Slave-trade, on moral and religious grounds; while the other insisted that it was a legitimate commerce, involving no other consideration than a sound public policy, which each State ought to be permitted to determine for itself so long as it was sanctioned by its own laws. Each party stood firmly and resolutely by its own position, until both became convinced that this vexed question would break up the Convention, destroy the Federal Union, blot out the glories of the Revolution, and throw away all its blessings, unless some fair and just compromise could be formed on the common ground of such mutual concessions as were indispensable to the preservation of their liberties, union and independence.

"Such a compromise was effected, and incorporated into the constitution, by which it was understood that the African Slave-trade might continue as a legitimate commerce in those States whose laws sanctioned it until the year 1808—from and after which time Congress might and would prohibit it forever throughout the dominion and limits of the United States, and pass all laws which might become necessary to make such prohibition effectual. The harmony of the Convention was restored, and the Union saved, by this compromise, without which the Constitution could never have been made.

"I stand firmly by this compromise, and by all other compromises of the Constitution, and shall use my best efforts to carry each and all of them into faithful execution in the sense and with the understanding in which they were originally adopted. In accordance with this

compromise, I am irreconcilably opposed to the revival of the African Slave-trade in any form and under any circumstances."

Within the past year, Mr. Douglas received many letters from personal friends, soliciting the use of his name as the Candidate for the Presidency before the Charleston Convention, to one of which he replied:

"WASHINGTON, Wednesday, June 22, 1859.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter, inquiring whether my friends are at liberty to present my name in the Charleston Convention for the Presidential nomination.

"Before the question can be finally determined, it will be necessary to understand distinctly upon what issue the canvass is to be conducted. If, as I have full faith they will, the Democratic party shall determine, in the Presidential election of 1860, to adhere to the principles embodied in the Compromise Measures of 1850, and ratified by the people in the Presidential election of 1852, and re-affirmed in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and incorporated into the Cincinnati platform in 1856, as expounded by Mr. Buchanan in his letter accepting the nomination, and approved by the people—in that event, my friends will be at liberty to present my name to the Convention, if they see proper to do so. If, on the contrary, it shall become the policy of the Democratic party—which I cannot anticipate—to repudiate these, their time-honored principles, on which we have achieved so many patriotic triumphs; and if, in lieu of them, the Convention shall interpolate into the creed of the party such new issues as the revival of the

African Slave-trade, or a congressional slave code for the territories, or the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States either establishes or prohibits slavery in the territories, beyond the power of the people legally to control it as other property, it is due to candor to say that, in such an event, I could not accept the nomination if tendered to me. Trusting that this answer will be deemed sufficiently explicit,

"I am, very respectfully, your friend,

"S. A. DOUGLAS.

"To J. B. DORR, Esq., Dubuque, Iowa."

The history of Mr. Douglas's nomination at Baltimore, on a platform with the views expressed above as a basis, is before the world.

January 16, 1850, he submitted the following resolution to the consideration of the South:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report a bill for the protection of each State and Territory of the Union against invasion by the authorities or inhabitants of any other State or Territory, and for the suppression and punishment of conspiracies or combinations in any State or Territory with intent to invade, assail or molest the government, inhabitants, property, or institutions of any other State or Territory of the Union."

This resolution was intended as the ground-work for the introduction and passage of a law to prevent the recurrence of such outrages as John Brown and his associates committed at Harper's Ferry. January 22, Mr. Douglas made a powerful speech in favor of the resolution, in the course of which, he used this expressive language:

"Can any man say to us that, although this outrage has been perpetrated at Harper's Ferry, there is no danger of its recurrence? Sir, is not the Republican party still embodied, organized, sanguine, confident of success, and defiant in its pretensions? Does it not now hold and proclaim the same creed that it did before this invasion? It is true that most of its representatives here disavow the acts of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. I am glad that they do so; I am rejoiced that they have gone thus far; but I must be permitted to say to them, that it is not sufficient that they disavow the act, unless they also repudiate and denounce the doctrines and teachings which produced the act. Those doctrines remain the same; those teachings are being poured into the minds of men throughout the country, by means of speeches, and pamphlets, and books, and through partisan presses. The causes that produced the Harper's Ferry invasion are now in active operation. Is it true that the people of all the border States are required by the Constitution to have their hands tied, without the power of self-defence, and remain patient under a threatened invasion in the day or in the night? Can you expect people to be patient, when they dare not lie down to sleep at night without first stationing sentinels around their houses to see if a band of marauders and murderers are not approaching with torch and pistol? Sir, it requires more patience than freemen ever should cultivate, to submit to constant annoyance, irritation and apprehension. If we expect to preserve this Union, we must remedy, within the Union, and in obedience to the Constitution, every evil for which disunion would furnish a remedy."

The life, speeches and votes of a man who has so long and so industriously labored as a public servant, were they all gathered together, would fill many volumes, and this slight sketch may be regarded as merely an index to what some enterprising publisher would be warranted in placing in the hands of the public as a record of the "Life and Speeches of S. A. Douglas." Such a work, compiled and arranged with care, would form a treasury of political history of rare value.

The nomination of Mr. Douglas at Baltimore was greeted with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of delight on the part of his friends; and ratifying meetings have been held in the principal cities and towns throughout the country, in favor of Douglas and Johnson.

At the conclusion of the ratification meeting at Philadelphia, June 30th, Judge Douglas received the honor of a serenade, and after acknowledging the compliment, he expressed himself as follows:

"I have no political speeches to make during the pending canvass. If my political opinions are not known to the people of the United States, it is not worth while for me to attempt to explain them now. It now remains for the people to take the matter into their own hands, to make such decision of the great issue before the country as will preserve the Constitution inviolate, as the surest and only method of perpetuating this glorious Union. Pennsylvania has a mighty interest in the preservation of the republic. She, from her geographical position, is bound to remain as she began—the keystone of the federal arch. Pennsylvania has the elements of an empire within

her own limits—all the elements of greatness, whether you look at her natural, her commercial, her manufactures, at the raw material, the mineral wealth—everything which contributes to make a great country is to be found within the limits of the Keystone State. And, in my opinion, the people of Pennsylvania have come to the conclusion that the Congress of the United States can be better employed in developing the great material resources of the country, than in wasting time by forcing slavery or anti-slavery upon the people. The Constitution of the United States has conferred upon the federal government certain powers and duties which they ought to perform. Let that federal government be confined strictly within the narrow sphere of federal duties, leaving the people of the States and Territories free to govern themselves without any dictation from federal officers. My friends, I said I had no political speeches to make, and I will not permit the temptation of this vast and enthusiastic assemblage, by the repeated cheering and compliments, to make me for a moment violate the resolve."

A monster ratification meeting of the friends of Douglas was held at Tammany Hall on the evening of July 2nd, at the conclusion of which it was resolved that a procession of electors, headed by the band, should proceed to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, the temporary residence of Mr. Douglas, to serenade him, and hear his opinions on the exciting topics of the day. In acknowledgment of this honor, Mr. Douglas appeared, and addressed his friends as follows:

"Fellow citizens: I return to you my most sincere thanks for the manifestation of your good feeling. It is

gratifying to me to know that the united Democracy of the city of New York feel the importance of the great contest now pending before the American people. There is no place on the American continent whose citizens ought, from their position, to be so enthusiastic in favor of those great political principles which should be proclaimed alike in every State of the Union, as in the Empire State of New York. While every other State is in some degree local in its character, having a peculiar circle for its own trade, New York reaches to the furthermost ends of the continent, and across the whole world,wherever her flag may wave over American soil and over American ships. The whole country is the theatre of your commerce, your interest and your influence, and you ought to sympathize with the people of the distant portions of the republic as with those who come into more immediate contact with you. Hence, my friends, I expect to find the democracy of New York standing a unit in favor of those great political principles which recognize the rights and property of the citizens of every State, and yet leave every State perfectly free to manage its own affairs, mind its own business, and which leave its neighbors alone. My friends, I made my appearance on this balcony to-night for the purpose of acknowledging the compliment you now pay me, and not to enter into political discussion upon any of the political topics of the day. It is the first time in my life I have ever been placed in the position to look on and see a fight without taking a hand in it. I shall, however, feel no less interest in this great political struggle, for I believe that the well-being of this country and the popularity of the Union

depend upon maintaining intact and inviolate those great cardinal principles for which the democratic party now, as in former times, are pledged by that platform and organization. I renew to you my sincere thanks for your kindness upon this occasion." (Loud applause, during which Mr. Douglas retired from the balcony.)

Addresses were then made by Messrs. Doheny, MacSweeny and others, but the audience seemed too good-humored to listen well, and preferred to visit Mr. Douglas in the parlor, to which a large and miscellaneous crowd accordingly retired. A few moments were spent in this mutual interchange, and the company separated.

We take leave of this great man in the midst of an exciting political campaign, in which he is a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people. If elected, we have no doubt that he will administer the duties of that office with credit to himself and honor to his country.

HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,

OF GEORGIA,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,

OF GEORGIA,

CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY,

Was born in Burke County, Georgia, September, 1812. His parents were in good circumstances, and young Johnson was early put in training to prepare his mind for a first-class education. At school he evinced a comprehensive mind, rare intellectual powers, and a studious disposition, that soon enabled him to master the elementary branches of his course. He entered the University of Georgia, in 1830, and graduated in course in 1834, with distinguished honor.

Mr. Johnson adopted the profession of the law, in which he was remarkably successful, and soon distinguished himself as an advocate. Ready and offhanded in debate, of quick perception, apt at unraveling and analysing the knotty points of a case,—a pleasant speaker, with unlimited command of language, affable and ceremonious, he is just the man to carry a jury by storm. His experience has exemplified this fact in a thousand instances; and there is probably not so popular a lawyer in the State of Georgia to-day as Hon. Herschel V. Johnson.

In 1844, he was a Presidential elector on the democratic ticket; and in 1847, he was appointed by the Governor of Georgia to represent that State in the United States Senate, in place of Mr. Colquit, who

had resigned. While a Senator, he addressed that body in a speech of great ability and eloquence, on the subject of the formation of governments for the territories of New Mexico and California; and as we are informed he still holds the same views on the general principles therein embraced, we cannot better define his position than by re-producing the following extract from the concluding portion of his speech:

"Sir, it is time this warfare against the South had ceased. It has been kept up long enough. The Union was formed for the general good, for defence against foreign invasion, and to secure domestic tranquility. The southern States came into it in good faith. When the Constitution was adopted, slavery existed in nearly all the States; and the great object of its framers was, not to consider how it might ultimately be abolished, but to throw around it the most ample guarantees. This Union never could have been formed upon any other basis than that of the most absolute equality between the States. The slave States never would have entered into the compact upon any other condition. They never would have agreed to it if they could have even anticipated that a methodical and organized attack would have been made by Congress upon their domestic institutions. Sir, it is all in violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution. It is at war with everything like good faith and political fraternity. It must cease or the Union will be destroyed; it cannot withstand an agitation so vital, so fundamental. It affects the very foundation of the Government, and if continued will lay the glorious fabric in ruins.

"It has been intimated during this debate that the South would finally submit to the aggressions of the North. Let not gentlemen deceive themselves. The people of the South will endure evils while evils are tolerable. But there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and at which patience waxes into desperation. Sir, what mean the resolutions of State Legislatures which have been piled in rapid succession upon your table during the present session of Congress? Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida have all spoken a language not to be misunderstood; and if the Legislatures of the other Southern States had been in session, they would have uttered similar sentiments. Is it supposed that the people of the South are dastardly; that they are not serious in their public resolves; and that they have so far degenerated from the chivalry of their ancestry as to pass complacently under the iron yoke of northern agression? Let not gentlemen deceive themselves. The South have too much at stake. Their domestic peace, their property, their honor, their all, are involved in the contest. Not less than ten hundred millions in value of their slave property are jeoparded by this spirit of fanaticism and agression. Does the history of the world furnish a single instance of a people so craven-hearted as to submit to the unresisted hazard of the security and safety of so vast an amount of property? Sir, I am authorized to utter no word of menace on this floor. But I ask gentlemen to study well the value of the interests involved, and the lofty elements of southern character, before they mature the opinion that the southern States will

tamely submit to insult, degradation and plunder under the forms of legislation.

"The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Dayton] admitted the possibility that the South might secede—that she might retire with chagrin, like Achilles to his tent; but that ere long she would find something knocking at the door of her mighty heart, and she would return again. I trust, sir, that the South may never have sufficient cause to assume the attitude of secession from this glorious Union. But if she should, the gentleman's illustration would be as false as it is beautifully classic. Why should the South return again, if driven from the Union by its injustice and oppression? I cannot imagine, unless it would be to enjoy the distinguished entrée into good society, which is kindly extended to southern gentleman at the North, notwithstanding they are slaveholders. From my very heart I thank our northern friends for their condescending hospitality, which has been so vividly portrayed by the Senator from New Jersey. But I confess I should be much more thankful if our northern benefactors would be less hospitable to our fugitive slaves. If, however, it be true that the South would return, is it wise, is it patriotic, by a course of unnecessary and unconstitutional legislation to force the experiment? Is it not the part of elevated and enlightened statesmanship to pause ere you have reached the verge which overlooks so fearful a precipice?

"In maintaining the position which I do, I disavow any intention to produce sectional prejudices, or to foment local agitation. I deprecate the formation of geographical parties. I feel that every inch of soil

which is sheltered by our stars and stripes is a part of my home, and a part of my inheritance. All I mean to say is, that if the Union, instead of a shield to protect, is converted into a weapon to wound, there is a settled determination among the people of the South to vindicate themselves, their rights of property, and domestic altars. I, for one, am prepared to share their fate. We claim nothing at the hands of Congress but non-interference. We do not ask you to extend slavery; we say you must not prohibit it. We say that New Mexico and California are the common property of the States, and that we have the same right to carry our slaves there which the New England man has to carry his spindles or his looms. In this position, the South feels that she is sustained by the Constitution, and there she intends to stand.

"In speaking thus, the South does not desire to be considered as using the language of menace. That would be unworthy of herself, and incompatible with her elevated sentiment of conscious rectitude. It would be unjust to the North, because it would imply that she could be moved by intimidation. What the South means is this: Having entered the Union in good faith, she will abide the compromises of the Constitution; and she expects the North to do likewise. But if this cannot be so; if, having the numerical majority, the North will trample on our rights, outrage our feelings and disregard our political equality as confederates, we cannot be held to abide the violated bond. We say so in advance, not to intimidate, but to arouse the patriotism of the North, their love of the Union, and their regard for justice, to the end that they may vol-

untarily pause ere they provoke consequences to be deplored by every lover of liberty and every friend of good government.

"The South is devoted to the Union. She venerates its institutions. She glories in the recollection of the brilliant deeds of its founders. But the Union of her affections is that which was formed by the Constitution, 'to establish justice, *insure domestic tranquility*, 'provide for the common defence, promote the general 'welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty.' If, through the blindness of fanaticism or the folly of unwarranted legislation, it become subversive of these ends, and be transformed into an engine to oppress the South, it will cease to be an object of love and pride, and will forfeit all title to her allegiance. But if the spirit that animated the fathers of the Republic can be revived; if the spirit of justice, conciliation and fraternity, which presided over their deliberations could be infused into the bosoms of their descendants; if, under the inspiration of such a spirit, our northern friends would approach the Constitution, and, on its consecrated altar, sacrifice all but pure and elevated patriotism; if they would deal justly with the South, and exhibit towards her sentiments of liberality and kindness, this Union would be as permanent as the eternal hills; and the sons of the sunny clime from whence I come, glorying in our "star-spangled banner," would coin their hearts, if need be, into ducats, and pour them into the public lap, to vindicate the national honor."

In 1849, Mr. Johnson was elected Judge of the Superior Court, of Georgia, and held the office until

1853. He was then elected Governor of his State, which office he held for two years. Since the termination of his gubernatorial duties, he has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession.

Mr. Johnson's views of public policy appear to coincide with the sentiments of the conservative portion of his party; and the extract from his speech above presented, provided he really entertains the same views now, proves him unquestionably sound on the main plank of the Baltimore Convention that placed him in nomination on the ticket with Mr. Douglas.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,

OF KENTUCKY,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

FOR PRESIDENT.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,

OF KENTUCKY,

CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY,

Was born near Lexington, Kentucky, January 16th, 1821. His facilities for acquiring an education were of the most favorable character, and he early took advantage of them. Immediately on the completion of his preparatory course, he entered Centre College, and continued his studies with vigorous assiduity during the term. It was here that surprising popularity commenced that has since paved the way to the highest honors and the most exalted social position. Young Breckinridge was a ready, fluent debater,—an eloquent and impressive orator,—a liberal minded, jovial companion, sanguine, urbane and chivalrous; and it is not surprising that he was the favorite of his class, and the pride of his school-fellows. He graduated with honor, and after going through the requisite law-studies at Transylvania Institute, was admitted to practice at Lexington.

Soon after his admission to the bar, he emigrated to the Northwest, with a view of finding a more extensive field for his labors, and located at Burlington, Iowa. After remaining there nearly two years, he found the country did not meet his expectations, nor the climate agree with his physical health; he therefore returned to his native State, and took up his

abode at Lexington, where he still resides. He entered immediately on the practice of his profession, and met with flattering success.

At the commencement of the Mexican War, the military ardor of the young Kentuckian was excited, and the result was creditable service as a Major of Infantry during the campaign. He was in several engagements, and on every occasion reflected additional honor on his native State. He also distinguished himself as counsel for Major General Pillow in the court-martial of that officer.

On the return of Major Breckinridge from Mexico, he was elected to the Kentucky Legislature, where his career was noted by more than ordinary legislative ability, good sense and brilliant elocution; and made so favorable an impression on his constituency that he was elected to Congress in 1850 from the Ashland District; and in 1851, at the age of thirty, John C. Breckinridge took his seat in the House. In 1852 he was re-elected, and held his seat till 1855.

It was not long before the name of Mr. Breckinridge was in the mouths of all reading people. It is not so far back but that his difference with the "Democratic Review" is familiar to all the readers of that publication; but the high station attained by Mr. Breckinridge since, makes it necessary to record, as matter of history, the circumstances and occasion which gave him his first prominence.

The Democratic Review for January, 1852, gave some people a "back-set" that they were not looking for. It came out bristling and raving furiously, in a paroxysm of revelations, discoveries and predictions.

Politicians of the old school stood aghast, wondering at its temerity, and scandalized at its heretical teachings. Canvassing the question of the Presidency, so soon to come up, the Review said that, while the fathers of the Republic personally lived, it was an easy task to select the candidate most worthy of success and most certain of attaining it; but now it was vastly different. Looking at the defeat of the Democracy in 1848, after the brilliant administration of President Polk, it believed that "if it were impossible for the old politicians, the surviving lieutenants of the days of Jackson, to agree, in 1848, on the election of a candidate, it was ten times more impossible for them to agree on the nomination of any one of themselves as a successful candidate" in 1852. Nor would it be well if they could agree, thought the Review, for they had had "the control of the destinies of the country and the party, but, by lack of statesmanship, lack of temper, lack of discretion, and, most of all, by lack of progress, they brought into our ranks discord and dissension; and the party they received united, strong, and far in advance, they left a wreck—a mutinous wreck—struggling in the slough of questions settled by the federal compact of the United States." To meet the exigencies of the times, and insure the success of Democracy, the Review announced and advocated a new generation of statesmen, untrammelled with the dogmas of an anterior era—men who would bring not only young blood, but young ideas, to the counsels of the Republic.

Mr. Breckinridge was decidedly in favor of progress, liked young blood and young ideas, but objected very strongly to the course of the Review. It had been

most extensively circulated; indeed, no Review in America, before or since, ever created any such sensation as the Democratic did in 1852. "Politicians were in a nervous fever in the breathing-time from month to month, between congratulating themselves on not having been noticed in the last number, and fear of being sacrificed in the next. The newspapers were eager to get an early copy, to extend the obituary of some decapitated 'Fogy,' or contradict the rumor that the Democratic Review had killed him. Being always in a rage itself, the Review soon created a like feeling in the public; it became the rage. Comic papers caricatured its writers, and revivified its victims into ludicrous notoriety; comic versifiers squibbed on its suggestions; leading journals, all over the country, poured out praise and denuciation with equal heartiness; and the wise heads of Congress even took to criticising and debating on its merits and men."* The articles in question were generally considered an attack on almost every man in the Democratic party whose name had been mentioned in connection with the Presidency, and therefore Mr. Breckinridge felt bound to notice them in the House. The Review for February followed up the denunciatory promises and views of the January issue, and gave the gentleman from Kentucky still further grounds of objection, especially as General Butler, of Kentucky, had been described by name as an "old fogy." The Review did not appreciate the words of Milton—

> "'Tis old experience doth attain
> To something like prophetic strain;"

* Memoir of Thomas Devin Reilly, by John Savage, in "'98 and '48," p. 378.

and "old experience" was utterly ignored in the pages of the "Democratic."

In March, Mr. Breckinridge boldly and unsparingly reviewed the reviewer, and denounced the publication and its conductors, as attempting to promote the interests of a cabal, by traducing the most honored names in the ranks of the Democracy. It was conceived by some prominent men and journals, that Mr. Breckinridge's speech was an indirect attack on Judge Douglas, he being the only prominent man of the party not assailed by the Review; and it was also rather implied that the Review was the organ of the Illinois Senator, and that it was for this reason he was exempted from denunciation in its pages. Mr. Richardson, a member of the House from Illinois, authoritatively denied that Douglas had any connection with the publication; and Mr. Marshall, of California, made a vigorous reply to the gentleman from Kentucky, in defence of the Review—"a periodical in which he felt no special interest, except so far as it was ably edited."

The Review continued its strictures, and dealt heavy blows right and left. In view of the debate in Congress, it placed Messrs. Marshall and Breckinridge on record in its pages—the former in a very fine steel-plate portrait, and the latter in an elaborate, but tantalizing, review of his speech. It was an interesting contest, and displayed intellectual powers of no ordinary grade. The newspapers of the day, taking up the debate in Congress, and reviewing the Review, bestowed upon Mr. Breckinridge a large share of notice in the discussion of the affair.

Introducing, on the 30th of June, 1852, the resolu-

tions of respect to the memory of Henry Clay, who had died the day previous, Mr. Breckinridge laid the fullness of his young heart on the grave of the great statesman, in whom "intellect, person, eloquence, and courage united to form a character fit to command." Standing by that grave, and with the solemn memories of the great dead about him, "the mere legerdemain of politics" appeared contemptible. What a reproach was Clay's life on the false policy that would trifle with the interests of a great, intelligent, and upright people! "Were I to write his epitaph," said Breckinridge, "I would inscribe as the highest eulogy, on the stone which shall mark his resting-place: Here lies a man who was in the public service for fifty years, and never attempted to deceive his countrymen." The man who could so fully appreciate the character of Henry Clay, let his political views be what they may, is deserving the regard of his countrymen.

In the Thirty-Second Congress, Mr. Breckinridge was instrumental in securing an appropriation for the completion of a cemetery near the city of Mexico, in which the remains of the American officers and soldiers who fell in battle or otherwise in or near the city of Mexico, should be interred. He also favored an appropriation for a weekly mail to the Pacific, and took a high and dignified position on all questions then agitating the country.

March 16th, 1852, Mr. Giddings, in the course of a speech on the compromise measures and fugitive slave law, denied that the federal government had power to pass laws by which "to compel our officers and people to seize and carry back fugitive slaves." He was defi-

ant, bitter and denunciatory, and created great excitement in the House. Mr. Breckinridge adroitly led him into an enunciation of his most extreme doctrines, and then said, "Against the important ravings of his baffled fanaticism I place the plain words of the Constitution. To his coarse and offensive language I have no reply."

He is oftentimes sharp, effective, and intensely cutting in his retorts; but his tone and bearing is always that of a gentleman in whom the quickest sense of the ridiculous is constantly tempered by good nature and good breeding. Toward the close of the discussion regarding the Democratic Review, Mr. Carttier asked him some insignificant question about that periodical, when Mr. Breckinridge retorted, "I did not suppose the gentleman from Ohio would omit a favorable opportunity to ring himself into the debate, and say something which might go upon the record." This turned the laughter of the House on the gentleman from Ohio, who did not seem desirous to press his inquiry further.

With the debate on the Nebraska bill, in March, 1854, Mr. Breckinridge's name is intimately connected. It was during this discussion that his difficulty with Mr. Cutting, of New York, occurred, and which, it was greatly feared at the time, would lead to a disastrous result. March 21st, Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, desiring to reach the Nebraska bill, previously reported by him, moved the House to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; but after considerable discussion, the motion was lost. Having proceeded with the business on the Speaker's table, several bills of minor importance were taken up and referred, and

the Nebraska bill reached by title. A great deal of feeling was manifested, and all seemed to regard this as a crisis.

Mr. Cutting and Mr. Richardson rose together. The former moved to refer to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; and the latter moved to refer to the Committee on Territories. The member from Illinois was recognized by the speaker, and the member from New York raised a point of order. Mr. Richardson said his purpose was to amend the bill, and that Cutting's course was designed to kill it. However, Mr. Cutting persisted in his motion, and supported it by a speech, in the course of which he disclaimed any disrespect to Mr. Richardson as chairman of the Committee on Territories, and stated that it was understood that that committee had already discussed and elaborated the subject. He was opposed to putting it again through the circuitous mode of referring it to them, and having it on the Speaker's table as it was to-day. The North had been in a state of civil insurrection since the introduction of the bill; and he thought it was time, not for parliamentary tactics, which give rise to suspicion, but for full, frank, and manly discussion. He was appealed to in vain; and, his motion passing, he fastened the whole thing by moving to reconsider, and then laying the motion on the table.

Mr. Millson, of Virginia, brought up the points comprised in the Nebraska bill in a discussion on the Indian Appropriation bill, on the second day after the events detailed above, and was followed by Mr. Hunt, of Louisiana, "two enemies of the bill" having precipitated the debate on the House. Mr. Breckinridge en-

tered the lists in a memorable speech, in which he strongly criticised the course of Mr. Cutting, and made use of this pointed language: "The gentleman may be in favor of the bill, *but his voice is that of an enemy.*" He warned the friends of the measure against following the gentleman from New York, whose course would kill it; and preferred a score of open enemies to a professed friend who struck in the manner he did.

A few days after the delivery of this speech, Mr. Cutting replied at great length, paying especial attention to the imputations thrown out by Mr. Breckinridge; when the latter retorting in a brief, but slightly excoriating address, the most intense excitement prevailed, and order was restored with great difficulty. The affair was carried outside of the House, and for some days the public mind was on the *qui vive* in anticipation of a duel,—the preparatory steps for such a settlement having been taken. March 31st, Mr. Preston informed the House that Mr. Cutting had left the matter in the hands of Col. Monroe, of New York, and Gen. Shields, United States Senator from Illinois; and Mr. Breckinridge had referred to Col. Hawkins, of Kentucky, and himself, (Mr. P.;) and he was authorized to state that a settlement had been effected on terms mutually satisfactory and honorable to both parties. On the part of both gentlemen he also offered an apology for any violation of the rules of the House, which had taken place in the excitement of debate.

In Mr. Breckinridge's speech in which the language was used that proved offensive to Mr. Cutting, he declared himself in favor of non-intervention, in the most emphatic sense of that word; and said he would

not vote for the bill if it proposed to legislate slavery into Nebraska and Kansas. "The right to establish," said he, "involves the correlative right to prohibit; and denying both, I would vote for neither. I go further, and express the opinion that a clause legislating slavery into those territories would not command one Southern vote in this House." Referring to the restriction of 1820, and its inconsistency with the compromise of 1850, he said the effect of the repeal of the former was "neither to establish nor to exclude, but to leave the future condition of the territories wholly dependent upon the action of the inhabitants, subject only to such limitations as the federal Constitution may impose. "Sir," said he, in continuation, "I care nothing about refined distinctions or the subtleties of verbal criticism. I repeat the broad and plain proposition, that if Congress may intervene on this subject, it may intervene on any other; and having thus surrendered the principles, and broken away from Constitutional limitations, you are driven into the very lap of arbitrary power. By this doctrine you may erect a despotism under the American system. The whole theory is a libel on our institutions. It carries us back to the abhorrent principles of British Colonial authority, against which we made the issue of Independence. I have never acquiesced in this odious claim, and will not believe that it can abide the test of public scrutiny."

Mr. Breckinridge was offered the mission to Spain by President Pierce; but the honor was respectfully declined, not, however, because it was not appreciated, or considered unworthy of acceptance, but because

family matters compelled Mr. Breckinridge to remain at home.

He was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, held at Cincinnati in June, 1856. After the nomination of Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency, several names were offered from which to select a Candidate for the second office,—among others that of John C. Breckinridge, proposed by the Louisiana delegation, through General Lewis. Duly acknowledging this flattering manifestation of confidence and esteem, Mr. Breckinridge begged that his name might be withdrawn. On the first ballot, however, the Vermont delegation, through Mr. Smalley, believing that no democrat has a right to refuse his services when his country calls, cast its five votes for Breckinridge. Many other States followed the example of Vermont, and, of the total, he received fifty-one votes, second on the list, and only eight under the first, who was the distinguished General Quitman. Main, New Hampshire and Vermont led off for Breckinridge on the second ballot, Massachusetts followed with eleven of her thirteen votes; Rhode Island followed with her four; and the New York "Softs" gave him eighteen. Delaware, Maryland and Virginia voting in the same way, it became quite obvious that he was the choice of the body, and though several of the remaining States voted for other candidates, they quickly, one by one, changed their votes, many of the delegates making neat and appropriate speeches in announcing the change. The names of the other candidates were withdrawn, and the whole poll went for John C. Breckinridge; at which the Convention rose *en masse*, and with waving of hats

and handkerchiefs and the loudest vocal demonstrations, addressed its attention to the tall and graceful delegate from Kentucky, who had been so unexpectedly nominated as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. An eye-witness describes the scene as grand and exciting in the extreme. Here were assembled the sages and Statesmen of a great political party, to select from their number two men distinguished for their intellectual acquirements, legislative ability, sagacity and integrity, to fill the highest elective offices of a great nation; and men who had grown grey in the service of the party, whose fidelity to its principles had been severly tried, and found above suspicion, whose experience fitted them to adorn any station in the Government, and whose integrity was undoubted, were all set aside to make way for a young man—the junior of them all: still, there was not a member of that Convention that did not appear proud of its choice. It was long before the demonstration subsided, so as to allow a word to be heard. At length the commanding figure of Mr. Breckinridge ascended the platform to acknowledge the overwhelming honor. He spoke briefly and becomingly. The result just announced was unexpected, and his gratitude could not find words to express itself. He thanked the Convention heartily; and expressed his appreciation of its first choice. He cordially endorsed the platform, and sat down amid the booming of cannon, and the vociferous applause of the multitude.

Shortly after his return to Lexington, after the adjournment of the Convention, his friends and neighbors gathered to congratulate him, and he then, in

addressing them, reiterated the views expressed in his Kansas Nebraska speech, and commented at length on the platform upon which he was nominated. "The whole power," said he, "of the Democratic organization is pledged to the following propositions: That Congress shall not interpose upon this subject, in the States, in the Territories, or in the District of Columbia; that the people of each Territory shall determine the question for themselves, and be admitted into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with the original States, without discrimination on account of the allowance or prohibition of slavery."

He made a gallant race, and was elected Vice-President of the United States, receiving 173 electoral votes, being 59 over Wm. L. Dayton, the opposition candidate for the same office. Thus, at the age of thirty-five, he had served his country abroad, had been a Legislator in his own State, and in the National Congress, had been tendered the representation of the Republic in Europe, and elevated to the second office in the gift of the people. Where is the insatiable ambition that could long for nobler achievements?

Mr. Breckinridge took the chair as President of the United States Senate, early in the first session of the Thirty-Fifth Congress, December, 1857, and with some intermission, caused by illness in his family, presided with becoming dignity and impartiality over the deliberations of that stormy session.

July 24th, 1858, Mr. Breckinridge being on a visit to Kentucky, attended, by invitation, a meeting of his fellow-citizens at Florence, and addressed them in an eloquent speech on the topics of the day. In the course

of his remarks, he reviewed the slavery question up to 1820, when intervention against slave States com menced, followed by a rehearsal of the Wilmot Proviso scheme, and the reaction that followed, and expressed the belief that the people of Kentucky had not properly appreciated the extent and force of the anti-slavery movement, which was sweeping over the North, like a fearful tornado. He contended that the slavery question had killed the old Whig party, an organization that was bold, open, gallant, full of pluck and fire; and that the American party had died, partly of the same issue, and partly of an inherent weakness in its constitution, and thought that those who caused the death of the last opposition party left in Kentucky, should join the democrats, to enabled them to cope successfully with northern Republicanism. It was impossible for them to remain neutral. The Democratic party was not distinctive, but conservative, based upon the Constitution, and the rights of citizens and States. It alone had survived the agitation, and was now vital, untamable, and unconquerable. The sentiments were eloquently and understandingly expressed, and were received with great satisfaction.

In the great senatorial struggle in Illinois, between Douglas and Lincoln, the Vice-President was invited, by the Democratic Committee of that State, to attend and address the people, at several meetings appointed for purposes of discussion, on the great questions involved in that contest. In reply to this invitation he wrote as follows:

"VERSAILLES, KY., OCT. 4, 1858.

"*Dear Sir:* I received this morning your letters of the 28th and 29th ult., written as Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of Illinois—also one of Mr. V. Hickox, who informs me that he is a member of the same committee. My absence from home will account for the delay of this answer.

"In these letters it is said that I am reported to have expressed a desire that Mr. Douglas shall defeat Mr. Lincoln in their contest for a seat in the Senate of the United States, and a willingness to visit Illinois and make public speeches in aid of such result; and if these reports are true, I am invited to deliver addresses at certain points in the State.

"The rumor of my readiness to visit Illinois and address the people in the present canvass, is without foundation. I do not propose to leave Kentucky for the purpose of mingling in the political discussions in other States. The two or three speeches which I delivered recently in this State rested on peculiar grounds, which I need not now discuss.

"The rumor to which you refer is true. I have often, in conversation, expressed the wish that Mr. Douglas may succeed over his Republican competitor. But it is due to candor to say, that this preference is not founded on his course at the late session of Congress, and would not exist if I supposed it would be construed as an indorsement of the attitude which he then chose to assume toward his party, or of all the positions he has taken in the present canvass. It is not necessary to enlarge on these things. I will only add,

that my preference rests mainly on these considerations: that the Kansas question is practically ended—that Mr. Douglas, in recent speeches, has explicitly declared his adherence to the regular Democratic party organization—that he seems to be the candidate of the Illinois Democracy, and the most formidable opponent in that State of the Republican party, and that on more than one occasion during his public life he has defended the union of the States and the rights of the States with fidelity, courage, and great ability.

"I have not desired to say anything upon this or any subject about which a difference may be supposed to exist in our political family, but I did not feel at liberty to decline an answer to the courteous letter of your committee.

"With cordial wishes for the harmony of the Illinois Democracy, and the hope that your great and growing State, which has never yet given a sectional vote, may continue true to our Constitutional Union,

"I am very respectfully your ob'd't servant,

"JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

"HON. JOHN MOORE, Chairman of the Committee."

At the last session of the Kentucky Legislature, Mr. Breckinridge was elected to a seat in the United States Senate, as successor to the Hon. John J. Crittenden, whose term expires in 1862.

What more the future has in store for him, time, the sole arbitrer of the fate of men and empires, can alone determine.

JOSEPH LANE,

OF OREGON,

CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH LANE,

OF OREGON,

CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY,

Was born in North Carolina, December 14, 1801. In 1804, his parents emigrated to Kentucky and settled in the County of Henderson. Springing from the old Revolutionary stock, he imbibed many stirring lessons of patriotism, and learned to appreciate its glorious results, from the elders who surrounded the paternal hearthstone. These lessons were the basis of all the education the poor boy received, and they entered largely into the formation of his character, and exerted a controlling influence on the life of the man.

He was thrown entirely on his own resources while yet a mere child, and, finding that he was obliged to shift for himself, entered the service of Nathaniel Hart, then Clerk of the Henderson County Court. In this position, by persevering industry and well-directed application, young Lane picked up many valuable scraps of knowledge, and hoarded them as the miser hoards his treasure.

In 1816, he removed to Warwick County, Indiana, and engaged as clerk in a mercantile house, which situation he filled to the satisfaction of his employers for nearly four years; but trade and barter would never realize the objects of his ambition, and he had little taste for them.

In 1820, at the age of nineteen, he married a young

woman of French and Irish parentage, and settled on the banks of the Ohio river, in Vanderburg County. In his new location he soon became very popular among his friends and neighbors; and, in 1822, was elected to the Indiana Legislature, and took his seat as a member of that body a few days after he had attained the age of twenty-one. A gentleman who was a member of the same Legislature, thus describes, in a work recently published, the *personel* of Lane on the occasion: "The roll-calling progressed as I stood by the side of the Clerk. 'The County of Vanderburg and Warwick!' said the Clerk. I saw advancing a slender, freckle-faced boy, in appearance eighteen or twenty years of age. I marked his step as he came up to my side, and have often noticed his air since: it was General Joseph Lane, of Mexican and Oregon fame in after years."

For nearly a quarter of a century, Lane continued his residence in Vanderburg County, and was often re-elected to the Legislature, where he uniformly represented the interests of his constituency in that straightforward, ingenuous manner that has invariably characterized his acts through life, and contributed so much to his popularity with the masses. Fearless, independent and original in his views, he never acknowledged the leadership of mere politicians, but struck out a course for himself, according to his own ideas of justice and right, and followed it with undeviating vigilance.

It was thought, in the great financial crisis of 1836–7, that Indiana, severely embarrassed with debt, would be compelled to repudiate. Lane could not be induced

to entertain such an idea for a moment. He viewed repudiation on the part of a State like Indiana, wealthy in her natural resources, with an industrious population, and a credit as yet unimpaired, as unnecessary and disgraceful. He would not hear of such a thing. He felt it would be a disgrace to him, as a working-man, with the will and strength to labor, to repudiate a debt; and how much more so to a State of which he was one of the representatives? He had the proud satisfaction of seeing this threatened stain on the honor of a noble State successfully averted.

Hon. John Dowling, who served in the Indiana Legislature with Lane, thus relates an interesting episode in his career:—"While some men," he writes, "espouse the cause of truth more through accident, or the force of circumstances, than from an innate love of justice for justice's sake, Lane's mind was so happily constituted that it was almost impossible for him to err in reference to any question which had a right and a wrong side to it. At the time of which I speak, there had assembled a large Democratic Convention in the State Capitol of Indiana; and among other subjects claiming the consideration of the delegates in that body was the propriety of subjecting the nomination of two Judges of the Supreme Court to the test of a *party* nomination. The offices were filled—and ably filled—by Charles Dewey and Jeremiah Sullivan; and Gen. Lane, though a strong party man, opposed, with his accustomed earnestness, the attempt to bring the Judiciary of the State within the vortex of party, or to make the politics of either the incumbents or the aspirants a test of party action. Judge Dewey was a

gentleman of fine education, of great legal ability, and in the discharge of the duties of his high trust, held the scales of justice with so even a hand that not a word could be said against him, except that his political proclivities were of the Whig school. Judge Sullivan, though not so able as a jurist, was far above mediocrity, and challenged universal respect by his amiable character and spotless integrity. Among the delegates to the Convention from Floyd county, was a young gentleman who was born, raised and educated in the State of New York, and who, having resided only a year in the State of his adoption, could not, in view of the political dogmas of the Tammany school, see the propriety of tolerating a Whig official of any kind, while a Democratic could be found able and willing to fill the place. No sooner had this young man (now the able Governor of the State) commenced advocating his peculiar views in the Convention, than the majority of that body, to whom he was a total stranger, positively refused to give him even a hearing, and by shouts and all sorts of noises, drowned his voice every time he attempted to advance his (to them) distasteful and unpalatable notions. Col. Lane, though foremost among those who favored the re-appointment of the old judges, became indignant at this treatment of the young delegate, and made several ineffectual attempts to command for him a hearing. Losing all patience with what he considered the injustice of the majority, he at length mounted a table, and, addressing the presiding officer, remarked that no member of the convention was more radically opposed to the views of the young gentleman from Floyd county, than himself; but as he came there

clothed with the power and authority to represent a portion of the people of Indiana, he insisted, in justice to his constituents, if not to himself, that the courtesy of a hearing should be given to him. As an advocate of the right of free discussion, he, for one, could not, by his silence, acquiesce in applying the gag to any member of that body; and, therefore, until the delegate from Floyd was heard, he pledged himself to oppose with all his energies, the transaction of any other business. Claiming to be the friends of liberty and right, it would, he continued, inflict indelible disgrace upon the Convention to stifle, by brute force or riotous clamor, the opinions of the humblest member of the body, merely because they were different from those entertained by the majority. Such was the emphatic and earnest manner of his delivery, and such the justice and noble spirit of his views, that the young delegate was finally, by common consent, permitted to proceed until he had finished his speech.

This imperfect sketch can give but a faint idea of the moral grandeur of the scene, which neither time nor distance can efface from the memories of those who witnessed it."

General Lane has always given in his adherence to the Democratic party. He supported Jackson in 1824, 1828 and 1832, and was an enthusiastic admirer of his administration. In 1836 and 1840, he gave his voice and energies for Van Buren, "as long as the latter followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor,"—and went for Polk in 1844. His influence and exertions have been of great benefit to his party.

Lane's services in the Mexican war drew him more

closely to the hearts of his countrymen than all other circumstances combined. At the commencement of the war, in 1846, a call was made upon Indiana for volunteers—and Lane, who was then a member of the State Senate immediately resigned his seat, and entered Captain Walker's Company as a private. He chose to volunteer under Walker, having a high opinion of his bravery; an opinion which that gallant officer's conduct and death in the battle of Huamantla completely justified. Before leaving Indiana, however, Lane was taken from the ranks by the unanimous voice of the men, and placed at the head as Colonel; and in a few days afterwards he received, quite unexpectedly, a commission from President Polk as Brigadier-General. On the 9th of July, 1846, he entered on the command of the three regiments forming his brigade, and two weeks after (July 24th,) he was at the Brazos, with all his men, and reported his arrival to General Taylor, concluding with these words: "The brigade I have the honor to command is, generally, in good health and fine spirits, anxious to engage in active service." August 20th, he wrote to Major-General Butler, claiming active service. His brigade did not approve of being left in the rear to garrison towns or to guard provisions and military stores, while the regular army, and the volunteers already ordered on to Camargo, would have the honor of being actively engaged. "It was understood," wrote Lane, "when we arrived at the Brazos, that the regiments of volunteers would be moved on toward the enemy in the order in which they arrived. Such orders have been observed, with two exceptions, both operating to the prejudice of

this brigade." A few days after his letter to Butler, he wrote again to General Taylor complaining that troops were ordered forward out of their order of precedence, and demanded for his command a share in the dangers and honors of the active service; that if the whole volunteer corps was not needed on the scene of action, a part of each State's troops be selected.

After a long, and, as it seemed to him, unreasonable delay, during which time his troops, on the swampy banks of Rio Grande, were decimated by the pestilential diseases of the climate, he was ordered to Saltillo, and made civil and military commandant of that post by Major-General Butler. After the battle of Monterey, he was ordered to join General Taylor. In the battle of Buena Vista, fought on the 22d and 23d of February, 1847, Lane was third in command, and, from the beginning to the end of that desperate contest, was in the hottest of the fight. On the morning of the 23d, Lane had the honor of opening the continuation of the fight, on the plain, and was attacked by a force of near five thousand infantry, artillery, and lancers, under Gen. Ampudia. His force was reduced to four hundred men, but with this handful of brave and determined spirits, he received the Mexican onset. "Nothing," writes an eye-witness, "could exceed the imposing and fearful appearance of the torrent of assailants which at this moment swept forward toward the little band of Lane. The long lines of infantry presented a continued and unbroken sheet of fire; but their opponents, though few in number, were undismayed, and defended their position with a gallantry worthy of the highest praise. Several times I observed the Mexican

lines, galled by the American musketry and shattered by the fearful discharges from O'Brien's battery, break and fall back; but their successive formations beyond the ridge enabled them to force the men back to their position and quickly replace those who were slain." American valor never accomplished more daring feats than at Buena Vista, and as that was the first engagement in which our volunteer general took part, it may be interesting to the reader to peruse the following extracts from Goodrich's History of America, describing that event. We quote:

"On the 22d, (February, 1847,) early in the morning, the enemy made his appearance, and at two o'clock in the afternoon a demand was made by Gen. Santa Anna, requiring Gen. Taylor to surrender at discretion. This was promptly refused; immediately upon which various skirmishes ensued, and were continued without intermission until dark.

"It was now apparent that a general battle was at hand. The Mexican general had more than 20,000 men, completely organized, and elated with the prospect of routing a force of less than 5,000, of which not more than five hundred were regular troops. It was a night of proud anticipation on the one side, and of strong determination on the other. The odds were fearful, but what the Americans lacked in point of numbers they were determined to supply by superior skill and characteristic bravery.

"At sunrise, on the following morning, the contest was renewed, and with slight intermissions was continued on both sides until night. By means of his immensely superior force, the Mexican general, at one time, drove

the American army for some distance, but at a moment the most critical, two pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the enemy, throwing cannister and grape so thickly—so destructively, as to compel him to halt. 'Yet, for several hours,' says the hero of Palo Alto, "the fate of the day was extremely doubtful, so much so that I was urged by some of the most experienced officers to fall back and take up a new position."

This advice, however, was declined, and the struggle went on, which, according to the American General's report, was the severest contest which he had ever witnessed. Night only put a stop to the contest, and, strange to say, both armies occupied the same position they did in the morning before the battle commenced.

"All that night the Americans lay upon their arms, as they had done the two previous ones, there being no fire to be had, and the mercury below the freezing point; ready, and expecting to renew the contest on the following morning. The twenty thousand Mexicans, however, had witnessed a sufficient display of American prowess. Leaving their killed, and many of their wounded, on the field, they retreated during the night, proceeding in the direction of San Luis, in a wretched and disorganized condition.

"Few victories, whether in ancient or modern times, have been more remarkable. The skill and experience of Santa Anna are well known, and yet with a regularly formed and well disciplined army of 20,000 men, that skill and experience were insufficient to cope with the army of Gen. Taylor, supported as he was by less than one quarter of the enemies number.

"The loss on both sides was great—amounting on

the American side to two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. The Mexican loss in killed and wounded probably reached two thousand. At least five hunderd of their killed were left upon the field of battle."

In the New Orleans Delta of May 2, 1847, in the course of an interesting description of this famous engagement, we find the following notice of Lane:—"When the grape and musket-shot flew as thick as hail over and through the lines of our volunteers, who began to waver before the fiery storm, their brave General could be seen fifty yards in advance of the line, waiving his sword with an arm already shattered by a musket-ball, streaming with blood, and mounted on a noble charger, which was gradually sinking under the loss of blood from five distinct wounds. A brave sight indeed was this."

Major-General Wool wrote to Lane, July 7, 1847, as follows: "I have seen you in all situations,—at the head of your brigade in the drill, and in the great battle of the 22d and 23rd of February; and in the course of my experience I have seen few, very few, who behaved with more zeal, ability and gallantry in the hour of danger." Gen. Taylor, in his report, says, "Brigadier General Lane, (slightly wounded) was active and zealous throughout the day, and displayed great coolness and gallantry before the enemy."

In the month of June, Lane was ordered to New Orleans, where his brigade was disbanded, its term of ervice having expired. He then returned home, and was greeted with public festivals and the most enthu-

siastic demonstrations of applause, by the people of Indiana. An order soon reached him to join Taylor's line, and he returned to Mexico.

Only two engagements between the American and Mexican forces occurred after his return to duty—the one at Huamantla, on the 9th of October, and the other at Atlixco, on the 19th—in both of which Gen. Lane distinguished himself by great bravery and address.

For his courage and gallantry, displayed at Huamantla, he was brevetted Major-General.

The last-named battle is thus described by Goodrich, in the History of America: "In the action of the 19th, at Atlixco, ten leagues from Perote, Gen. Lane's forces consisted of the fourth Ohio, and fourth Indiana Regiments, Major Lally's and Capt. Heintzleman's battallion, Col. Wynkoop's battalion of four companies, first Pennsylvania volunteers, Capt. Taylor's and Lieut. Pratt's battallion of light artillery, and a squadron of dragoons, commanded by Capt. Ford, third dragoons. About three leagues from the city, the advance-guard of the enemy was first discovered. These, on the arrival of the cavalry, were pursued for a mile and a half. On arriving at a small hill, however, they made a stand, and fought severely, until the American infantry appeared, when they took to flight. The dragoons were again ordered to follow. After a running fight of nearly four miles, and when within a mile and a half of the city, the whole body of the enemy, under command of Gen. Rea, was discovered on a side-hill, covered with chapparal, forming hedges, behind which they had taken post. Here a bloody conflict ensued. During its continuance, the infantry appeared, upon which the

enemy again retreated. The column now pressed on, but night set in ere they could reach the city. But, favored by a fine moon-light, the artillery, which had come up, was posted on a hill near to the town, and overlooking it, and open to its fire. From this point, an effective fire was directed upon the city. Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity; and the crash of the walls and the roofs of the houses, when struck by the shot and shell, was mingled with the roar of the artillery. After firing for three-quarters of an hour, the firing from the town having ceased, the American troops entered, and Gen. Lane was now waited upon by the Ayuntamiento, desiring that their town might be spared. The loss of the enemy was two hundred and nineteen killed, and three hundred wounded. But one American was killed, and but one wounded. The victory here was the more important, as Atlixco had for some time been the head-quarters of guerillas in that section of country. This victory achieved, Gen. Lane with his command returned to Puebla."

August 1st, 1848, Lane returned to Indiana;—on the 28th he received his appointment as Governor of Oregon, and on the 29th started for the theatre of his new hardships and duties. September 4th, he reached Fort Leavenworth, and left it on the 10th, with twenty-two men. On the 2nd of March, 1849, he arrived safely in Oregon City. This long journey, requiring six months to accomplish, cost the government nothing,—Gen. Lane not making any charge for his expenses; he also aided largely in subsisting the troops with the product of his rifle.

He found the people of the territory in a state of great excitement and alarm on account of the Indian depredations, which were of frequent occurrence, and greatly impeded the settlement and progress of the country. In 1850, an outbreak occurred on Rogue River, in the southern part of the territory. Gov. Lane took the field in person, collected a force of settlers, miners, a few officers and men of the regular army, attacked the Indians at Table Rock, and, after a desperate battle, in which he was severely wounded, drove them from their position. Vigorously following up this advantage, he administered a chastisement so severe that they were glad to accept peace on any terms. The legislative assembly of the territory passed a series of resolutions conveying the thanks of the people for this great service. "Few," says one of the resolutions, "could have accomplished so successfully what his kindness, integrity, and firmness have done to secure the bonds of a lasting peace with the tribes surrounding us." The belief was also expressed, that while Governor, he acted for the best interests of the whole people; and they regretted that upon the accession of Gen. Taylor he was superseded. He was sent to Congress, however, as a delegate, in which capacity he continued to act until the admission of Oregon into the Union, when he took his seat as a United States Senator, having been elected to that position in anticipation of Oregon becoming a State.

As Senator, Mr. Lane has been a man of deeds. Action is his forte. The conjugation of the verb "TO DO," is the important part of his grammar, and his

rhetoric is all in the present participle under the same head. His only remarkable speech in the Senate was on the admission of Oregon, but *that* was proof that he can speak if he will.

While Gov. Lane was in Oregon, he was named for the Presidency by a convention assembled at Indianapolis, to revise the State Constitution of Indiana. The Democratic State Convention, which met February 24, 1852, also presented his claim for the same high office, and pledged the vote of the State to him, in the event of his nomination. At a public reception given him, on his arrival in Indiana from Oregon, Gov. Wright thus briefly reviewed the career of the distinguished guest:

"He has been the artificer of his own fortunes; and, in his progress from the farmer on the banks of the Ohio, and the commandant of a flat-boat, to posts of honorable distinction,—to a seat in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of Indiana,—to the command of a brigade upon the fields of Buena Vista, Huamantla, and Atlixco,—to the Governorship of Oregon, and thence to a seat in Congress,—he has displayed the same high characteristics, perseverance and energy. The annals of our country present no parallel for these facts. You entered the army a volunteer in the ranks, looking forward only to the career of a common soldier. You left it a major-general, closing your ardent and brilliant services in that memorable campaign by fighting its last battle, and capturing the last enemy."

July 7, 1860, Gen. Lane visited New York, and in the evening was serenaded at the St. Nicholas Hotel,

by the National Democratic Volunteers. In response to a call, he briefly addressed the crowd assembled, and after acknowledging the compliment tendered him by the Volunteers, embraced the occasion to remark, that "in casting about in his mind all over the country, and looking to its condition, and having an ardent desire for the promotion of its welfare, he could say, in all candor, that he could not see how we could do better for the country than by electing John C. Breckinridge as President of the United States."

The sketch we have given requires no elucidation to impress the great moral it is indended to convey; and although brief and imperfect, we hope it will be read with some degree of pleasure by the countrymen of Joseph Lane.

SAM HOUSTON,

OF TEXAS,

CANDIDATE OF THE INDEPENDENT PARTY,

FOR PRESIDENT.

SAM HOUSTON,

OF TEXAS,

CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY,

Was born at a place called Timber Ridge Church, in Rockbridge County, Virginia, March 2, 1793. In early youth, he had no opportunities for intellectual improvement. His father died when Sam was thirteen years of age, and the whole amount of his school attendance, up to this period, was estimated at about six months. Nine orphans were left in charge of the widow, who is described as "a noble woman, of dignified character, and great moral and intellectual force." The bereaved family gathered up their little store of worldly goods, crossed the Alleghany mountains, and located near the Tennessee river, then the boundary between the white men and the Cherokee Indians. Here, in forest wilds almost illimitable, they made a home. The boys of the family were ready enough at work, except the subject of our sketch, who had no taste for "clearings" as the result of his own labor. He preferred the life of a student to the toils of a backwoodsman; and obtaining possession of a few books, he devoured their contents with all the voracity of a famishing intellect. Pope's translation of the Iliad was perused with much zest, and gave rise to a passionate desire to know more of the heroes of Greek and Latin story. To this end, he expressed a desire to

study the ancient languages, but the opportunity was denied him.

Very much against his inclination, he was apprenticed as clerk in a store, but soon ran away. He was found, however, after a long search, with the Cherokee Indians; and, having been asked his reasons for leaving his friends, he answered, with great dignity, that he preferred measuring deer-tracks to tape, liked the wild liberty of the red men better than the tyranny of his own brothers, and, if he could not study Latin at school, he could at least read a translation from the Greek in the woods, and read it in peace; so they could go home as soon as they liked. He returned home occasionally to remain a few days, but almost the entire time, from the date of his revolt to his eighteenth year, was spent among the Indians;—and he often alludes to this period as the happiest part of his life.

In 1813, he enlisted as a private in the army of the United States. Bestowing her blessing, the brave mother addressed him in these memorable words:—"There, my son, take this musket, and never disgrace it; for, remember, I had rather all my sons should fill one honorable grave, than that one of them should turn his back to save his life. Go; and remember, too, that while the door of my cottage is always open to brave men, it is eternally shut against cowards."

He was soon promoted to the rank of sergeant, and afterwards to that of ensign, and in discharge of the duties of the latter office he distinguished himself at the battle of the Horse-shoe, March 27, 1814. While gallantly leading his men in the thickest of the fight, a barbed arrow struck his thigh. After staunching the

wound, he returned to the fight, and received two rifle-balls in the right shoulder. The wounds were dangerous, and for months his life was despaired of.

After the war, he was retained as lieutenant, and attached to the First Regiment, stationed at New Orleans. In 1815, he embarked on the Cumberland river in a small skiff, and paddled his way down to the Ohio, thence into the Mississippi, and down that mighty torrent to Natchez, where he found the first steamboat that ever ascended the Mississippi, and on which he took passage for New Oleans. A short time subsequent to this event, he was charged with the management of an Indian delegation to Washington, and while there found that attempts had been made to injure him with the government, for having prevented African negroes from being smuggled into the Western States from Florida, then a Spanish province. Houston considering himself aggrieved, resigned his lieutenancy, and went to Nashville to study law.

June, 1818, he entered the office of Hon. James Trimble, and after applying himself diligently for six months, was admitted to the bar with honor. He immediately established himself in practice, and was much encouraged by the large amount of business that immediately came to his hands. He was appointed Adjutant-General of the State, with the rank of colonel; and in October of the year he commenced practice; he was elected District-Attorney of the Davidson District. In 1821, he was elected Major-General; and, in 1823, he was sent to Congress from the Nashville District without opposition. In 1825, he was re-elected to Congress, and in 1827, he was elected Gov-

ernor of Tennessee by a majority of more than twelve thousand.

In 1829, a domestic affliction led him to resign his office, and again take up his abode among the Indians. He landed at the mouth of White River, ascended the Arkansas to Little Rock, and pursued his way, by land and water, to the Falls of the Arkansas, four hundred miles to the northwest. Here he was welcomed by his adopted father, the venerable chief, Oolooteka, who said the cloud which had fallen on Houston was a visitation of the Great Spirit, so that the red man might have the benefit of his counsel. "I know," he said, "you will be our friend, for our hearts are near to you, and you will tell our sorrows to the great father, Gen. Jackson. My wigwam is yours; my home is yours; my people is yours; rest with us."

He dwelt with the Cherokees three years,—studied the red man and his wrongs; and is proud to declare that he never was deceived or betrayed by an Indian. Feeling that he had the friendship of Jackson, who was then President, he resolved to investigate the doings of the Indian Agents, and report the result of his observations. In the course of a speech in after years, alluding to the result of this investigation, he said there was not a tribe that had not been outrageously defrauded; and nearly all the wars we have prosecuted against the Indians have grown out of the cruel injustice practiced toward them by our Indian agents and their accomplices. In 1832, he visted Washington, and reported the result of his inquiries to government, and a number of the agents and sub-agents were immediately dismissed.

About this time Houston was sent on a private mission to the Comanches at San Antonio de Bexar, and while at Nacogdoches, he was earnestly pressed to allow his name to be put forward as a candidate in a convention to be held in the following April. He was unanimously elected, and took up his residence with his new constituents. The Convention was composed of about fifty members, assembled at San Felipe de Austin, in a rude, narrow apartment, on the 1st of April, 1833, and is memorable as the first deliberative assembly "made up of men descended from the Anglo-Saxon race which had ever assembled within the limits of the ancient dominions of Cortez." A State Constitution was completed, and a memorial addressed to the Supreme Government of Mexico, setting forth the reasons why Texas should be recognised as one of the States of the Mexican Confederacy, was prepared.

The crisis was at hand, the memorial was dispatched to the City of Mexico, where the messenger (afterwards the famous General Austin,) was treated with great indignity, and imprisoned for several months without even the form of a trial. On his return to Texas, he found matters in a state of great confusion. Santa Anna had demanded the surrender ot arms, which would leave the Texans defenceless against the Indians, and they would submit to no such demand. A four-pounder was seized at Gonzales by the Mexicans, when the people gathered together, elected Austin, General of the forces, and reserving the field-piece, pursued the Mexicans to Bexar. Thus commenced the great and glorious struggle for Texas Independence.

Houston was elected General of Texas east of the

Trinity. A general consultation was held, a council of war followed, a provisional government and a declaration of independence was the result, in all of which Houston was the moving spirit and the master mind. He still dressed in the Indian style, and Jackson is reported to have said of him at the time, that "he thanked God there was one man, at least, in Texas, who was made by the Almighty, and not by a tailor!"

Events followed each other in rapid succession. A regular government was established, and Houston was chosen general of the army.—Then the massacres of Goliad and the Alamo, and on through all the skirmishes and struggles to the immortal day of San Jacinto,—the decisive event of the great contest. Of this last engagement and its hero, Col. Thomas H. Benton, in a speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1836, gave utterance to the following sentiments:

"Of the individuals who have purchased lasting renown in this young war, it would be impossible in this place to speak in detail, and invidious to discriminate; but there is one among them whose position forms an exception, and whose early association with myself justifies and claims the tribute of a particular notice; I speak of him whose romantic victory has given to the Jacinto that immortality in grave and serious history which the diskas of Apollo had given to it in the fabulous pages of heathen mythology. General Houston was born in the State of Virginia, County of Rockbridge; he was appointed an ensign in the army of the United States, during the late war with Great Britain, and served in the Creek Campaign under the banners

of Jackson. I was the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment to which he belonged, and the first field-officer to whom he reported. I then marked in him the same soldierly and gentlemanly qualities which have since distinguished his eventful career, frank, generous, brave; ready to do, or to suffer, whatever the obligations of civil or military duty imposed; and always prompt to answer the call of honor, patriotism and friendship. Sincerely do I rejoice in his victory. It is a victory without alloy, and without parallel except at New Orleans. It is a victory which the civilization of the age, and the honor of the human race required him to gain—for the nineteenth century is not the age in which a repetition of the Goliad matins could be endured. Nobly has he answered the requisition; fresh and luxuriant are the laurels which adorn his brow.

"It is not within the scope of my present purpose, to speak of military events, and to celebrate the exploits of that vanguard of the Anglo-Saxons who are now on the confines of the ancient Empire of Montezuma; but that combat of the San Jacinto! it must forever remain in the catalogue of military miracles. Seven hundred and fifty citizens, miscellaneously armed with rifles, muskets, belt-pistols and knives, under a leader who had never seen service except as a subaltern, march to attack near double their numbers—march in open day across a clear prairie, to attack upward of twelve hundred veterans, the élete of an invading army of seven thousand, posted in a wood, their flank secured, front intrenched; and commanded by a general, trained in civil wars, victorious in numberless battles—and chief of an Empire of which no man becomes chief

except as conqueror. In twenty minutes the position is forced. The combat becomes a carnage. The flowery prairie is stained with blood, the hyacinth is no longer blue, but scarlet. Six hundred Mexicans are dead; six hundred more are prisoners, half-wounded; the President-General himself is a prisoner, the camp and baggage all taken, and the loss of the victors, six killed and twenty wounded. Such are the results, and which no European can believe, but those who saw Jackson at New Orleans. Houston is the pupil of Jackson; and he is the first self-made general, since the time of Mark Antony, and the King Antigonus, who has taken the general of the army and the head of the government captive in battle. Different from Antony, he has spared the life of his captive, though forfeited by every law, human and divine."

At the close of the war, Houston was elected President of the Republic; Senators and Representatives were also elected. October 3, 1836, the first Texian Congress was organized; and on the 22nd the inauguration took place, and President Houston delivered an address outlining his future policy.

December 12th, 1838, his Presidential term closed, and, according to the Constitution, he could not be re-elected for the succeeding term. Lamar was made President, and was succeeded by Houston, December 13th, 1841, the ex-President having in the meantime occupied a seat as member of the Texian Congress.

He was, from the first, a determined advocate of annexation to the United States; and, in one of his last communications on the subject, urged annexation as necessary to the perpetuation of the United States, as

follows: "If this great measure fails, the Union will be endangered, its revenues diminished, and a European influence will grow up in Texas, from our necessities and interests, that will most effectually prejudice the interests of the United States."

December 29, 1845, on the admission of Texas, ex-President Houston and Gen. Rusk were chosen to represent the State in the United States Senate.

Senator Houston favored the compromise measures of 1850, and opposed the Nebraska bill, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. "Maintain the compromise; stir not up agitation; give us peace."

March 3, 1854, he spoke in defence of the three thousand Massachusetts clergymen who petitioned Congress against the Nebraska bill, and called their memorial "a respectful protest in the name of Almighty God."

Senator Mallory propounded to him the following question: "Whether he (Houston) approves or does not approve of so much of the creed attributed to the Know-Nothings as would make those who profess the Roman Catholic religion ineligible to office? Senator Houston replied that he would not vote for such a law, and could not approve it. The proscription charged upon the "know-nothings" was nothing more, he said, than what formerly existed between Whigs and Democrats. In his opinion, every foreigner coming to live here, should be endorsed by one of our consuls abroad, and he was opposed to infamous characters and paupers coming among us.

February 16, 1858, he introduced a proposition in the Senate to extend a United States protectorate over the States of Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guate-

mala, Honduras, and San Salvador, in such form and to such an extent as shall be necessary to secure to the people of said states the blessings of a republican government. He advocated the Southern route for the Pacific railroad, and spoke of the South as not favoring secession or disunion, and in condemnation of the slave trade. He objected to the term "Southern Rights;" for the South had no rights that were not equally possessed by the North.

Senator Iverson, of Georgia, made some remarks in response, questioning the right of Houston to speak in behalf of the South, as Texas had repudiated him for favoring union when union could only be maintained at the sacrifice of the South. Houston replied, admitting that Texas had chosen to dispense with his services, and said he was glad they were able to get along without him, for it demonstrated the increasing prosperity of the State. In alluding to Iverson's attack, he said it reminded him of the old fable of the dead lion, who, being espied by a certain animal, the latter took advantage of his defenceless position to plant his heels in the lions face. He would not name the animal, but it was the same from which Samson took the jaw-bone.—This retort was greeted with great applause, both on the floor of the Senate and in the galleries; and the Senator from Georgia promptly apologized for having, in the heat of debate, wounded the sensibilities of Gen. Houston, for whom he cherished a high regard.

On his return to Texas, Houston immediately entered the gubernatorial campaign; and defined his position in a speech of great force and erudition, at

Nacogdoches. He would not be the candidate of a Convention, for he was older than platforms, and a statesman before the day of conventions. He labored through the contest with characteristic diligence, and was triumphantly elected.

In March, 1860, a mass convention of the people of Texas, on the battle-ground of San Jacinto, nominated Gen. Sam Houston as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, and pledged him a majority of 20,000 in his own State. Other gatherings in different parts of the country have expressed the same preference, and a party of great respectability of character and numbers calling themselves "the people's party," are urging his election.

We cannot withold our admiration from the man, for the perseverance and energy with which he has overcome almost insurmountable obstacles, and attained a high position of honorable distinction.

PARTY PLATFORMS FOR 1860,

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ADOPTION.

THE NATIONAL UNION PLATFORM,

ADOPTED BY THE FRIENDS OF JOHN BELL AND EDWARD EVERETT,

EMBRACES the entire Constitution of the United States, as it has been expounded by its Framers and exemplified by the decisions of the Supreme Court; and with an avowal to be guided by the letter and spirit of this sacred instrument, the candidates pledge their best services to promote the welfare of every section of the Union.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

ADOPTED BY THE FRIENDS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HANIBAL HAMLIN.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promul gated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved; and that we re-assert "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and for ever silence.

Fourth That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth: That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the in-

famous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon

and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Second. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the *Compromise Measures*, settled by the Congress of 1850, the "Act for Reclaiming Fugitives from Service or Labor" included, which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

Third. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

Fourth. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down by the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and on the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the North and South to the Constitution and the Union.

Resolved, That, claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as a paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms, concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States, and to incite to treason armed resistance to law in the Territories; and whose avowed purpose, if consumated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws, establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only

sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Second. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850, confirmed both by the Democratic and Whig parties, in National Convention—ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

Third. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained unviolated, and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska acting through the legally and fairly-expressed will of the majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

EXPLANATORY RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, do hereby declare our affirmation of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign born.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States, and the Democratic Party pledge such constitutional power of the Government as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character and subversive to the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effects.

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the Cincinnati Platform that, during the existence of Territorial Government the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been or shall hereafter be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM,

ADOPTED BY THE FRIENDS OF JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE AND JOSEPH LANE.

In addition to the Cincinnati Platform, the minority of the Convention at Charleston and Baltimore adopted the following:

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic Party at Cincinnati is affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

First. That the government of a Territory organized by

an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existance all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or injured by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

Second. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

Third. That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consumated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and a State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

Resolved, That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

Resolved, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character to, and subversive of the Consitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as an imperative duty of this Government to protect naturalized citizens in all thier rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native born citizens. And

Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic Party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional power of Congress, for the costruction of a Pacific Railroad from the Missisisppi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

THE INDEPENDENT PLATFORM,

ADOPTED BY THE FRIENDS OF GENERAL SAM HOUSTON.

At an enthusiastic meeting for celebrating the Anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto, held on the battle-ground, April 21st, 1860, General Sam Houston was unanimously nominated for the Presidency; and the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, as embracing the objects and sentiments by which his friends are actuated:

Assembled as we are on the Battle-Ground of San Jacinto —a spot consecrated by the blood and valor of those who periled their everything in their country's cause—we deem the occasion and the place as well fitted to utter a few words to our fellow-citizens upon the great questions which lay at the foundation of our national prosperity and happiness. We have fallen upon evil times. Political jobbers have manœuvred and squabbled when they should have labored for the public good.

They have invented new questions to distract the public mind; they have arrayed one section of our common country against another; they have sown discord where confidence and good will would have prevailed but for their wicked efforts, until the glorious fabric of our good government, which has secured an unexampled prosperity to our people, has been greatly endangered, if not well nigh demolished.

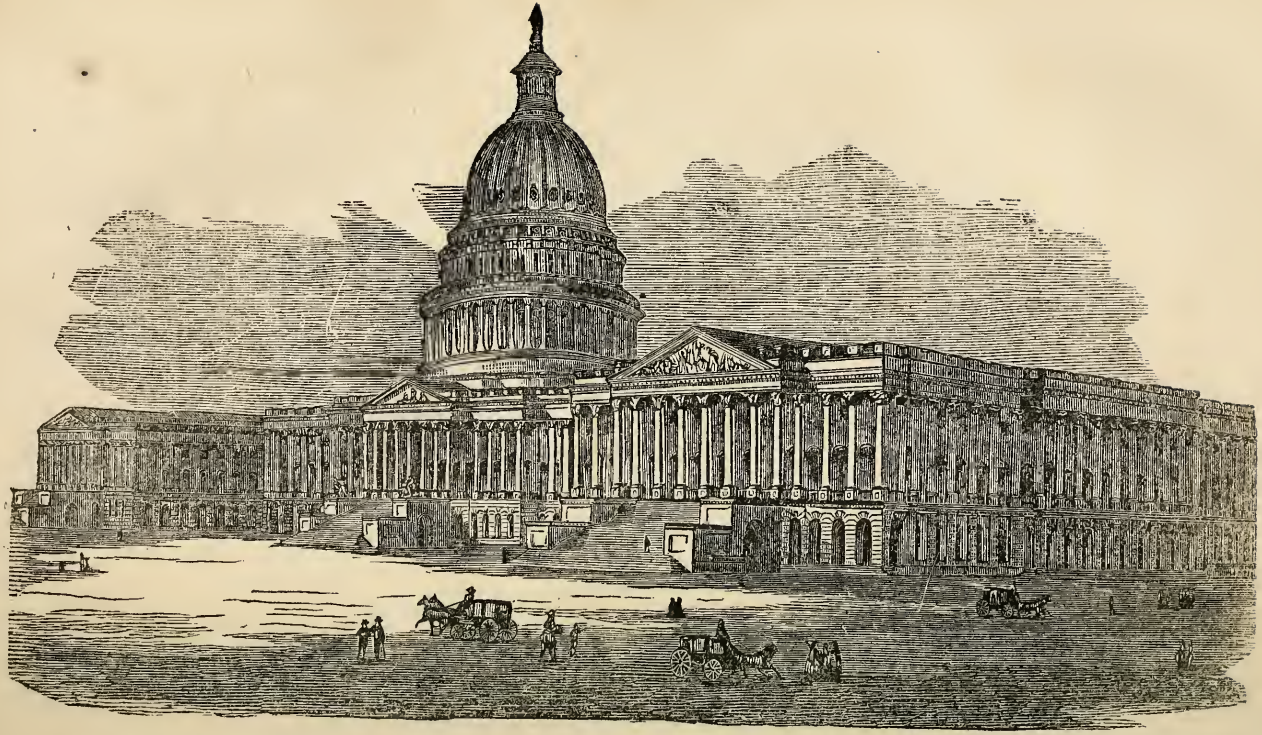
We are tired of being bartered off and "compromised" by party conventions and cliques, and think it high time that the voters of the United States of America should for once, at least, take the matter of choosing their Chief Magistrate into their own hands, without consulting sectional or partizan leaders from any quarter. The time has now arrived when all conservative men, of whatever section, who love their country, should unite on a common platform of reciprocal justice, for the preservation of the Constitution and the perpetuity of the Union: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the present attitude of the two leading parties of the United States, standing upon opposite geographical divisions, and respectively seeking success by ap-

peals to *sectional* prejudices, creates an imminent necessity for the people of all the States to rally around some Presidential candidate of national character, whose public services have been devoted to the best interests of the whole country, and whose name shall inspire confidence in the hearts of all Union-loving patriots—under whose banners they can *form* from every portion of our beloved Union, forgetting sectional and partizan rancor, and coming up shoulder to shoulder to sustain and perpetuate our liberties, as did the patriots of old to establish them.

Second. That we recommend to the conservative people of the nation our distinguished citizen, Gen. SAM HOUSTON, as the People's Candidate for the Presidency, assured that his devotion to the Constitution and the Union, his illustrious life and great public services, give a better guarantee for the wisdom and patriotism of his administration than any platform that parties can construct. The people know him to be a true and safe man, who loves his country and rejoices in the advancement of every part of it—one of the few left of the old school of patriots and statesmen, who would exert all his power to arrest the growth of the spirit of disunion, and check the increasing tide of extravagance and corruption now so rapidly undermining the principles upon which our government was founded. Under such an administration, tranquility and confidence must be restored at home, and respect commanded abroad; while political freedom, social happiness, and material prosperity, the fruits of peace and order, will be assured to our distracted neighbor, Mexico, under a judicious American Protectorate, alike demanded as a measure of salvation to a rapidly-decaying government, ready to lapse into barbarism, or fall a prey to European despotism, and for the preservation of our political and commercial interests on this continent.

Third. That we call upon conservative men, of all parties, and in all sections of the Union, whether assembled in Conventions or otherwise, to weigh well the present condition of the country; and to unite with us in crushing out every species of fanaticism, in an earnest and sincere effort to recall the nation to a sense of impending dangers, and invoke their assistanee by falling in line with us under the Constitution and the Union.



WELLS'

ILLUSTRATED NATIONAL

CAMPAIGN HAND-BOOK

FOR 1860.

PART SECOND.

EMBRACING A

COMPLETE COMPENDIUM

OF THE

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

FROM THE

ORIGINAL FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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SEALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE 31 STATES

ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, CONNECTICUT, DELAWARE, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, ILLINOIS, INDIANNA, IOWA, KENTUCKY, LOUISIANA, MAINE, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, MICHIGAN, MISSISSIPPI, MISSOURI, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, N. CAROLINA, OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, RHODE ISLAND, S. CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, VERMONT, VIRGINIA, WISCONSIN

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

[The following articles were drawn up by a committee of gentlemen, who were appointed by Congress for this purpose, June 12, 1776, and finally adopted, Nov. 15, 1777: the committee were Messrs. Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickinson, M'Kean, Stone, Nelson, Howes, E. Rutledge, and Gwinnet.]

IN CONGRESS, July 8, 1778.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, nad Georgia.

Art. 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "*The United States of America.*"

Art. 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Art. 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendsdip with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Art. 4. § 1. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers—vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States, or either of them.

§ 2. If any person, guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon the demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

§ 3. Full faith and credit shall be given, in each of these states, to

the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

Art. 5. § 1. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

§ 2. No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument, of any kind.

§ 3. Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of these states.

§ 4. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

§ 5. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Art. 6. § 1. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state, nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

§ 2. No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

§ 3. No state shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

§ 4. No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the

United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

§ 5. No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United State in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Art. 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

Art. 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Art. 9. § 1. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article, of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what

manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of capture; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

§ 2. The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

§ 3. All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

§ 4. The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

§ 5. The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, "*A Committee of the States*," and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should

not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

§ 6. The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

§ 7. The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

Art. 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine states, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

Art. 11. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: But no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

Art. 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling

of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Art. 13. Every state shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, Know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by the said confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
JOHN WENTWORTH, jun.

Massachusetts Bay.

JOHN HANCOCK,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
FRANCIS DANA,
JAMES LOVEL,
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

Rhode Island, &c.

WILLIAM ELLERY,
HENRY MARCHANT,
JOHN COLLINS.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

New York.

JAMES DUANE,
FRA. LEWIS,
WILLIAM DUER,
GOUV. MORRIS.

New Jersey.

JNO. WITHERSPOON,
NATH. SCUDDER.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,
JONA BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED.

Delaware.

THOMAS M'KEAN,
JOHN DICKINSON,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

Maryland.

JOHN HANSON,
DANIEL CARROLL.

Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JNO. HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

North Carolina

JOHN PENN,
CONS. HARNETT,
JNO. WILLIAMS.

South Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS,
WM. HENRY DRAYTON,
JNO. MATTHEWS,
RICHARD HUTSON,
THOS. HEYWARD, jun.

Georgia.

JNO. WALTON,
EDWARD TELFAIR,
EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS—THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1776.

PREVIOUSLY to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report. (The committee consisted of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Sherman, and R. R. Livingston)

The Declaration being read, was agreed to, as follows:

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meau time, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do

And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Rhode Island.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Massachusetts Bay.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Delaware.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

Maryland.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton

Virginia.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON,

North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN,

South Carolina.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON

THE JEFFERSONIAN ORDINANCE OF 1784

On the 1st of March, 1784, less than one hundred days after the evacuation of our soil by the British army, Thomas Jefferson, from a Committee, consisting of himself, Mr. Chase, of Md., and Mr. Howell, of R. I., (a majority being from Southern States,) reported to the Continental Congress the following Ordinance for the government of *all* the National Territory outside the limits of the States. As many have understood this only to apply to the North-Western Territory, we insert it in full:

"*Resolved*, That the *territory ceded, or to be ceded by individual States* to the United States, whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants and offered for sale by the United States, shall be formed into additional States, bounded in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit; that is to say, northwardly and southwardly by parallels of latitude, so that each State shall comprehend from south to north, two degrees of latitude, beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees north of the equator; [the then Southern boundary of the U. S.] but any territory northwardly of the forty-seventh degree shall make part of the State next below. And eastwardly and westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Mississippi, by that river on one side, and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of the Ohio on the other: and those adjoining on the east, by the same meridian on the western side, and on the eastern by the meridian of the western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanawha. And the territory eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, Lake Erie, and Pennsylvania, shall be one State.

"That the settlers within the territory so to be purchased and offered for sale shall, either on their own petition or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place, for their free males of full age to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of these States, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary Legislature, and to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their Legislature.

"That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any State until it shall have acquired twenty thousand free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority, with appointments of time and place, to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves: *provided, That both the temporary and permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis:*

"1. That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America.

"2. That in their persons, property, and territory, they shall be sub-

ject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the Articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject.

"3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States.

"4. That their respective governments shall be in republican forms and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title

"5. *That after the year* 1800 *of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States*, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

"That whenever any of the said States shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original States, such State shall be admitted by its Delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original States; after which the assent of two-thirds of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be requisite in all those cases wherein, by the Confederation, the assent of nine States is now required, provided the consent of nine States to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the Articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their Delegates into Congress, any of the said States, after the establishment of their temporary government, shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

"That the territory northward of the forty-fifth degree, that is to say, of the completion of forty-five degrees from the equator, and extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called *Sylvania;* that of the territory under the forty-fifth and forty-fourth degree, that which lies westward of Lake Michigan, shall be called *Michigania;* and that which is eastward thereof, within the peninsula formed by the lakes and waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and Erie, shall be called *Chersonesus*, and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the forty-fifth degree. Of the territory under the forty-third and forty-second degrees, that to the westward, through which the Assenisipi or Rock River runs, shall be called *Assenesipia;* and that to the eastward, in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamies of the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the Lake, and the Sandusky river, shall be called *Metropotamia.* Of the territory which lies under the forty-first and fortieth degrees, the western, through which the river Illinois runs, shall be called *Illinoia;* that next adjoining to the eastward, *Saratoga;* and that between this last and Pennsylvania, and extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie, shall be called *Washington.* Of the territory which lies under the thirty-ninth and thirty-eight degree, to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio and Mississippi as lies under the thirty-seventh degree; that to the westward within and ad-

jacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawanee, Tanisee, Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and Missouri, shall be called *Polypotania;* and that to the eastward, further up the Ohio, otherwise called the Pelisipi, shall be called *Pelisipia.*

"*That all the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact,* shall be duly executed by the President of the United States, in Congress assembled, under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated, and *shall stand as fundamental conditions* between the thirteen original States and those newly described, *unalterable* but by the joint consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made."

On a test vote on adopting the anti-slavery provision above, sixteen voted aye, and seven no; but the requisite majority of *States* failing to vote in the affirmative, it was lost. And three years later, the Ordinance of 1787, for the Northwestern Territory alone, was adopted.

Forty-two years afterwards, Mr. Jefferson, only six weeks before he died, wrote as follows, in reply to a letter asking his views in regard to the ultimate eradication of slavery from the country.

MONTICELLO, May 26th, 1826.

DEAR SIR: The subject of your letter of April 20th, is one on which I do not permit myself to express an opinion, but when time, place, and occasion, may give it some favorable effect. A good cause is often injured more by ill-timed efforts of its friends than by the arguments of its enemies. *Persuasion, perseverance,* and patience are the best advocates on questions depending on the will of others. *The revolution in public opinion which this case requires is not to be expected in a day, or perhaps in an age; but time which outlives all things, will outlive this evil also. My sentiments have been* FORTY YEARS *before the public,* and had I repeated them forty times, they would only become the more stale and threadbare. *Although I shall not live to see them consummated, they wlll not die with me; but, living or dying, they will ever be in my most fervent prayers.* This is written for yourself, and not for the public, in compliance of your request of two lines of sentiment on the suhject. Accept the assurance of my good will and respect.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Mr. JAS. HEATON, Middletown, Butler county, Ohio.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its

members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determind by Yeas and Nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-

thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have Power—

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Sec. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the

Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one vote; A Quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice-President.*]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

* This clause has been superseded and annulled by the 12th Amendment.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of Impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all Civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in Law and

Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of Impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but, no Attainder of Treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress;—*Provided*, that no Amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient

for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In Witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire.
JOHN LANGDON, NICHOLAS GILMAN

Massachusetts.
NATHANIEL GORHAM, RUFUS KING.

Connecticut.
WM. SAML. JOHNSON, ROGER SHERMAN.

New York.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

New Jersey.
WIL: LIVINGSTON. DAVID BREARLEY,
WM. PATERSON, JONA. DAYTON.

Pennsylvania.
B. FRANKLIN, THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBT. MORRIS, GEO: CLYMER,
THO: FITZSIMONS, JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON, GOUV: MORRIS.

Delaware.
GEO: READ, GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN'R.
JOHN DICKINSON, RICHARD BASSETT,
JACO: BROOM.

Maryland.
JAMES M'HENRY, DAN: OF ST. THOS. JENIFER.
DANL. CARROLL.

Virginia.
JOHN BLAIR, JAMES MADISON, JR.

North Carolina.
WM. BLOUNT, RICH'D DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HU. WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina.
J. RUTLEDGE, CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.
CHARLES PINCKNEY, PIERCE BUTLER.

Georgia.
WILLIAM FEW, ABR. BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*

ARTICLES,

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

(ARTICLE I.)

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

(ARTICLE II.)

A well-regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

(ARTICLE III.)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

(ARTICLE IV.)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

(ARTICLE V.)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

(ARTICLE VI.)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against

him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

(ARTICLE VII.)

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

(ARTICLE VIII.)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

(ARTICLE IX.)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

(ARTICLE X.)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

(ARTICLE XI.)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

(ARTICLE XII.)

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballot the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate:—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States,

and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

THE Constitution was adopted on the 17th September, 1787, by the Convention appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the Congress of the Confederation, of the 21st February, 1787, and ratified by the Conventions of the several States, as follows:

By Convention of		Delaware,	7th December, 1787.
"	"	Pennsylvania,	12th December, 1787.
"	"	New Jersey,	18th December, 1787.
"	"	Georgia,	2d January, 1788.
"	"	Connecticut,	9th January, 1788.
"	"	Massachusetts,	6th February, 1788.
"	"	Maryland,	28th April, 1788.
"	"	South Carolina,	23d May, 1788
"	"	New Hampshire,	21st June, 1788
"	"	Virginia,	26th June, 1788.
"	"	New York,	26th July, 1788
"	"	North Carolina,	21st November. 1789.
"	"	Rhode Island,	29th May, 1790

The first ten of the Amendments were proposed on the 25th September. 1789, and ratified by the constitutional number of States on the 15th December, 1791; the eleventh, on the 8th January, 1798; and the twelfth, on the 25th September, 1804.

FORMATION OF THE ORIGINAL UNION.

On Monday, the 5th September, 1774, there were assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, a number of men who had been chosen and appointed by the several colonies in North America to hold a Congress for the purpose of discussing certain grievances imputed against the mother-country. This Congress resolved on the next day that each colony should have one vote only. On Tuesday, the 2d July, 1776, the Congress resolved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States," etc., etc.; and on Thursday, the 4th July, the whole Declaration of Independence having been agreed upon, it was publicly read to the people. Shortly after, on the 9th September, it was resolved that the words "United Colonies" should be no longer used, and that the "United States of America" should thenceforward be the style and title of the Union. On Saturday, the 15th November, 1777, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America" were agreed to by the state delegates, subject to the ratification of the state legislatures severally. Eight of the states ratified these articles on the 9th July, 1778; one on the 21st July; one on the 24th July; one on the 26th November of the same year; one on the 22d February, 1779; and the last one on the 1st March, 1781. Here was a bond of union between thirteen independent states, whose delegates in Congress legislated for the general welfare, and executed certain powers, so far as they were permitted by the articles aforesaid. The following are the names of the Presidents of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1788:

Peyton Randolph, Virginia	5th Sept., 1774
Henry Middleton, South Carolina	22d Oct., 1774
Peyton Randolph, Virginia	10th May, 1775
John Hancock, Massachusetts	24th " 1776
Henry Laurens, South Carolina	1st Nov., 1777
John Jay, New York	10th Dec., 1778
Samuel Huntingdon, Connecticut	26th Sept., 1779
Thomas McKean, Delaware	10th July, 1781
John Hanson, Maryland	5th Nov., 1781
Elias Boudinot, New Jersey	4th " 1782
Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania	3d " 1783
Richard Henry Lee, Virginia	30th " 1784
Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts	6th Jan., 1786
Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania	2d Feb., 1787
Cyrus Griffin, Virginia	22d Jan., 1788

The seat of government was established as follows: at Philadelphia, Pa., commencing September 5, 1774, and May 10, 1775; at Baltimore, Md., December 20, 1776; at Philadelphia, Pa., March 4, 1777; at Lancaster, Pa., September 27, 1777; at York, Pa., September 30, 1777; at Philadelphia, Pa., July 2, 1778; at Princeton, N. J., June 30, 1783; at Annapolis, Md., November 26, 1783; at Trenton, N. J., November 1, 1784; and at New York City, N. Y., Jan. 11, 1785.

On the 4th March, 1789, the present Constitution, which had been adopted by a convention and ratified by the requisite number of states, went into operation.

WASHINGTON'S ADDRESSES.

There were not many occasions during his public career that Washington was called upon to exercise his abilities as a writer or an orator; but when such occasions did occur, he always acquitted himself with a degree of perspicuity and modesty which may be said to have been characteristic of himself alone. The addresses which follow mark, as it were, four distinct epochs in the history of this unexampled man:—the first, when he accepted the command of the armies by which our national independence was achieved; the second, when he surrendered his commission, after having driven the foes of freedom from his beloved country; the third, when he assumed the responsible duties of President, in which office his high qualities for civil government were as conspicuous as had been his military talents in the field; and fourth, when he resigned this great trust, and took leave of the people in his imperishable "Farewell Address," an inestimable legacy, which cannot be too frequently conned by every American who values his birthright.

WASHINGTON'S ELECTION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

On the 15th of June, 1775, Washington was unanimously elected by Congress to "command all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty," and when he appeared in his place the next day, the President of that body acquainted him with his election, in a well-timed address, "and requested he would accept of that employment;" to which Washington replied as follows:

"Mr. President: Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION.

The War of the Revolution having terminated auspiciously, Washington took leave of his officers and army at New York, and repaired to Annapolis, Md., where Congress was then in session. On the 20th of December, 1783, he transmitted a letter to that body, apprising them of his arrival, with the intention of resigning his commission, and desiring to know whether it would be most agreeable to receive it in writing or at an audience. It was immediately resolved that a public entertainment be given him on the 22d, and that he be admitted to an audience on the 23d, at twelve o'clock. Accordingly he attended at that time, and, being seated, the President informed him that Congress were prepared to receive his communications. Whereupon he arose, and spoke as follows:

"Mr. President: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence: a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

In accordance with previous arrangements, General Washington met Congress in New York on the 30th of April, 1789, for the purpose of being inaugurated as the first President of the United States. The oath of office having been administered by the Chancellor of the state of New York, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives the President delivered the following Inaugural Address:

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may

enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that, as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards

the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked. on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for, I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will, therefore, be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding, with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness, so his Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend."

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness . but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that

if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice

of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth

and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in UNION, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those

who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain, and that with Spain—which secure to them every thing they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay. by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of Government: but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation. the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of

faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government, destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the

absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against another; foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are

destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace

and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection; either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium; sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable

to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error ; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government—the ever favorite object of my heart—and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17*th September*, 1796.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE OF 1820.

When Missouri applied for admission into the Union, a proposition was started in Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the new state. This had the effect of arraying the South against the North—the slave-holding against the non-slave-holding states—and the whole subject of slavery became the exciting topic of debate throughout the country. The question was finally settled by a *Compromise*, which tolerated slavery in Missouri, but otherwise prohibited it in all the territory of the United States north and west of the northern limits of Arkansas.

As the principle then settled has often since been the prolific source of much sectional controversy and angry debate, and as it is desirable that every one should be familiar with the *real* provisions of the act by which Missouri was admitted, we have concluded to insert here so much of the law as is necessary to a full understanding of the subject. All the sections except the following relate entirely to the formation of the Missouri territory, in the usual form of territorial bills:

"Sec. 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, for ever prohibited. *Provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT DECENNIAL PERIODS.

Census Years.	White Persons.	Colored Persons.			Total Population.
		Free.	Slave.	Total	
1790...	3,172,464	59,466	697,897	757,363	3,929,827
1800...	4,304,489	108,395	893,041	1,001,436	5,305,925
1810...	5,862,004	186,446	1,191,364	1,377,810	7,239,814
1820...	7,861,937	238,156	1,538,038	1,776,194	9,638,131
1830...	10,537,378	319,599	2,009,043	2,328,642	12,866,020
1840...	14,195,695	386,303	2,487,455	2,873,758	17,069,453
1850...	19,553,068	434,495	3,204,313	3,638,808	23,191,876

It will be seen by the above table that the population increases naturally and by immigration at the yearly rate of three per cent, which would give, in 1855, about 27,000,000, and in 1860, 31,000,000

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1850.

An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled "An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters," approved Feburary 12, 1793.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the persons who have been, or may hereafter be, appointed Commissioners, in virtue of any Act of Congress, by the Circuit Courts of the United States, and who, in consequence of such appointment, are authorized to exercise the powers that any justice of the peace, or other magistrate of any of the United States, may exercise in respect to offenders for any crime or offence against the United States, by arresting, imprisoning, or bailing the same, under and by virtue of the thirty-third section of the act of the twenty-fourth of September, seventeen hundred and eighty nine, entitled "An Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," shall be, and are hereby, authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

Sec. 2. That the Superior Court of each organized territory of the United States shall have the same power to appoint Commissioners to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavits, and to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes, which is now possessed by the Circuit Court of the United States; and all Commissioners who shall hereafter be appointed for such purposes by the Superior Court of any organized territory of the United States, shall possess all the powers, and exercise all the duties, conferred by law upon the Commissioners appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States for similar purposes, and shall moreover exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

Sec. 3. That the Circuit Courts of the United States, and the Superior Courts of eac' organized territory of the United States shall from time to time ,arge the number of Commissioners with a view to afford reasona' facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor, and to the prompt discharg of the duties imposed by this Act.

Sec. 4. That the Commissioners above named shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, in their respective circuits and districts within the several States, and the Judges of the Superior Courts of the territories severally and collectively, in term-time and vacation; and shall grant certificates to such claimants, upon satisfactory proof being made, with authority to take and remove such fugitives from service or labor, under the restrictions herein contained, to the state or territory from which such persons may have escaped or fled.

Sec. 5. That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under

the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered. or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of such claimant, on the motion of such claimant, by the Circuit or District Court for the district of such marshal; and after arrest of such fugitive, by such marshal or his deputy, or whilst at any time in his custody, under the provisions of this act, should such fugitive escape, whether with or without the assent of such marshal or his deputy, such marshal shall be liable, on his official bond, to be prosecuted for the benefit of such claimant, for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive in the state, territory, or district whence he escaped; and the better to enable said Commissioners, when thus appointed, to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and of this Act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; with authority to such Commissioners, or the persons to be appointed by them, to execute process as aforesaid, to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper county, when necessary to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and all good citizens are commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, anywhere in the state within which they are issued.

Sec. 6. That when a person held to service or labor in any state or territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another state or territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized by power of attorney, in writing acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or Court of the state or territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the Courts, Judges, or Commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive where the same can be done without process, and by taking or causing such person to be taken forthwith before such Court, Judge or Commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition or affidavit, in writing, to be taken, and certified by such Court, Judge or Commissioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some Court,

Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath and take depositions under the laws of the state or territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy, or other authority as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper Court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due as aforesaid, that the person so arrested does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him or her, in the state or territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to said claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the state or territory in which such service or labor was due to the state or territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the state or territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this Act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the state or territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any Court, Judge, Magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

Sec. 7. That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States, for the district in which such offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized territories of the United States, and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil

damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt in any of the District or Territorial Courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offence may have been committed.

SEC. 8. That the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts, shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and where such services are rendered exclusively in the arrest, custody, and delivery of the fugitive to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or where such supposed fugitive may be discharged out of custody for the want of sufficient proof as aforesaid, then such fees are to be paid in the whole by such claimant, his agent or attorney; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a Commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, upon the delivery of the said certificate to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney; or a fee of five dollars in cases where the proof shall not, in the opinion of such Commissioner, warrant such certificate and delivery, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination, to be paid in either case by the claimant, his or her agent or attorney. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such Commissioner for the arrest and detention of fugitives from service or labor as aforesaid, shall also be entitled to a fee of five dollars each, for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such Commissioner, as aforesaid, at the instance and request of such claimant, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such Commissioners for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them; such as attending at the examination, keeping the fugitive in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such Commissioner; and, in general, for performing such other duties as may be required by such claimant, his or her attorney or agent, or Commissioner in the premises. Such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid by such claimants, their agents or attorneys, whether such supposed fugitives from service or labor be ordered to be delivered to such claimants by the final determination of such Commissioner or not.

SEC. 9. That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or her possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the state in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the state whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent or attorney. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons

as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants while so employed to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

SEC. 10. That when any person held to service or labor in any state or territory, or in the district of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor may be due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any court of record therein, or judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such court, or judge in vacation, of the escape aforesaid, and that the person escaping owed service or labor to such party. Whereupon the court shall cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a general description of the person so escaping, with such convenient certainty as may be; and a transcript of such record, authenticated by the attestation of the clerk and of the seal of the said court, being produced in any other state, territory or district in which the person so escaping may be found, and being exhibited to any Judge, Commissioner, or other officer authorized by the law of the United States to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of the escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. And upon the production by the said party of other and further evidence if necessary, either oral or by affidavit, in addition to what is contained in the said record of the identity of the person escaping, he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant. And the said Court, Commissioner, Judge, or other person authorized by this Act to grant certificates to claimants of fugitives, shall, upon the production of the record and other evidences aforesaid, grant to such claimant a certificate of his right to take any such person identified and proved to be owing service or labor as aforesaid, which shall authorize such claimant to seize or arrest and transport such person to the state or territory from which he escaped: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid. But in its absence the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs, competent in law

Approved September 18, 1850.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854.

An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this Act, to wit: beginning at a point in the Missouri river where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the east boundary of the territory of Utah on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the territory of Nebraska; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided,* That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to inhibit the Government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided further,* That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Nebraska, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Nebraska, or to affect the authority of the Government of the United States to make any regulations respecting such Indians, their lands, property or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this Act had never passed.

Sec. 2. That the executive power and authority in and over said territory of Nebraska shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The Governor shall reside within said territory, and shall be commander-in-chief of the militia thereof. He may grant pardons and respites for offences against the laws of said territory, and reprieves for offences against the laws of the United States, until the decision of

the President can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of the said territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3. That there shall be a secretary of said territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the Governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and journals of the Legislative Assembly within thirty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, on the first days of January and July in each year, to the President of the United States, and two copies of the laws to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to be deposited in the libraries of Congress; and, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the Governor from the territory, the secretary shall be, and he is hereby authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the Governor during such vacancy or absence, or until another Governor shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 4. That the legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in the Governor and a Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly shall consist of a Council and House of Representatives. The Council shall consist of thirteen members, having the qualifications of voters, as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue two years. The House of Representatives shall, at its first session, consist of twenty-six members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the Council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. The number of representatives may be increased by the Legislative Assembly, from time to time, in proportion to the increase of qualified voters: *Provided*, That the whole number shall never exceed thirty-nine; an apportionment shall be made as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts for the election of the Council and representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its qualified voters as nearly as may be. And the members of the Council and of the House of Representatives shall reside in, and be inhabitants of, the district or county, or counties, for which they may be elected respectively. Previous to the first election, the Governor shall cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the territory, to be taken by such persons and in such mode as the Governor shall designate and appoint, and the persons so appointed shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor. And the first election shall be held at such times and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the Council and House of Representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this Act. The per-

sons having the highest number of legal votes in each of said Council districts for members of the Council, shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected to the Council; and the persons having the highest number of legal votes for the House of Representatives, shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected members of said House: *Provided*, That in case two or more persons voted for shall have an equal number of votes, and in case a vacancy shall otherwise occur in either branch of the Legislative Assembly, the Governor shall order a new election; and the persons thus elected to the Legislative Assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the Governor shall appoint; but thereafter, the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the Council and House of Representatives, according to the number of qualified voters, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular sessions of the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, That no session in any one year shall exceed the term of forty days, except the first session, which may continue sixty days.

Sec. 5. That every free white male inhabitant, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constituton of the United States and the provisions of this Act: *And provided further* That no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said territory, by reason of being on service therein.

Sec. 6. That the legislative power of the territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. Every bill which shall have passed the Council and House of Representatives of the said territory, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the Governor of the territory; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the House in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by whibch it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the

votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, to be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Governor within three days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Assembly, by adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Sec. 7. That all township, district, and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Nebraska. The Governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for; and in the first instance the Governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the Legislative Assembly; and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the Council and House of Representatives, and all other officers.

Sec. 8. That no member of the Legislative Assembly shall hold, or be appointed to, any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased, while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term; but this restriction shall not be applicable to members of the first Legislative Assembly; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except postmasters, shall be a member of the Legislative Assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of said territory.

Sec. 9. That the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts, and in Justices of the Peace. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years, and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified. The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a District Court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and the said Judges shall, after their appointments, respectively, reside in the district which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that of the Probate Courts and of Justices of the Peace, shall be as limited by law: *Provided*, That Justices of the Peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy when the title or boundaries of land may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars; and the said Supreme and District Courts, respectively, shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction. Each District Court, or the Judge thereof shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the register in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals, shall be allowed in all cases from the final decision of said District Courts to the Supreme Court,

under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; but in no case removed to the Supreme Court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The Supreme Court, or the Justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error, and appeals from the final decision of said Supreme Court, shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the Circuit Courts of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars; except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy; and except also that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, from the decisions of the said Supreme Court created by this Act, or of any Judge thereof, or of the District Courts created by this Act, or of any Judge thereof, upon any writ of *habeas corpus*, involving the question of personal freedom: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to apply to or affect the provisions of the "Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelfth, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the "Act to amend and supplementary to the aforesaid Act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty; and each of the said District Courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States; and the said Supreme and District Courts of the said territory, and the respective Judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases in which the same are granted by the Judges of the United States in the district of Columbia; and the first six days of every term of said courts, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said Constitution and laws, and writs of error and appeal in all such cases shall be made to the Supreme Court of said territory, the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive in all such cases the same fees which the clerks of the District Courts of Utah territory now receive for similar services.

SEC. 10. That the provisions of an Act entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelve, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the aforesaid Act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty, be, and the same are hereby, declared to extend to and be in full force within the limits of said territory of Nebraska.

SEC. 11. That there shall be appointed an attorney for said territory, who shall continue in office for four years, and until his successor

shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as the attorney of the United States for the present territory of Utah. There shall also be a marshal for the territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as Circuit and District Courts of the United States; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees as the marshal of the District Court of the United States for the present territory of Utah, and shall, in addition, be paid two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

Sec. 12. That the Governor, secretary, chief justice, and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The Governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid, shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the District Judge or some Justice of the Peace in the limits of said territory, duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now in force therein, or before the Chief Justice or some Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to support the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices, which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken; and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings: and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices, and all other civil officers in said territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said Governor or secretary, or some Judge or Justice of the Peace of the territory who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and afterwards, the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified, and recorded, in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The Governor shall receive an annual salary of two thousand five hundred dollars. The Chief Justice and Associate Justices shall receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The secretary shall receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly, from the dates of the respective appointments, at the treasury of the United States; but no such payment shall be made until said officers shall have entered upon the duties of their respective appointments. The members of the Legislative Assembly shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and three dollars each for every twenty miles' travel in going to and returning from the said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually traveled route; and an additional allowance of three dollars shall be paid to the presiding officer of each House for each day he shall

so preside. And a chief clerk, one assistant clerk, a sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper, may be chosen for each House; and the chief clerk shall receive four dollars per day, and the said other officers three dollars per day, during the session of the Legislative Assembly; but no other officers shall be paid by the United States: *Provided*, That there shall be but one session of the Legislature annually, unless, on an extraordinary occasion, the Governor shall think proper to call the Legislature together. There shall be appropriated, annually, the usual sum, to be expended by the Governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the territory, including the salary of a clerk of the executive department; and there shall also be appropriated, annually, a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the Governor and secretary of the territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys intrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, and shall, semi-annually, account to the said secretary for the manner in which the aforesaid moneys shall have been expended; and no expenditure shall be made by said Legislative Assembly for objects not specially authorized by the Acts of Congress making the appropriations, nor beyond the sums thus appropriated for such objects.

Sec. 13. That the Legislative Assembly of the territory of Nebraska shall hold its first session at such time and place in said territory as the Governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the Governor and Legislative Assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said Governor and Legislative Assembly.

Sec. 14. That a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the Legislative Assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other territories of the United States to the said House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected shall hold his seat only during the term of the Congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; and at all subsequent elections the times, places, and manner of holding the elections shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly. That the Constitution, and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of

Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the Act of sixth March, eighteen hundred and twenty, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery.

Sec. 15. That there shall hereafter be appropriated, as has been customary for the territorial governments, a sufficient amount, to be expended under the direction of the said Governor of the territory of Nebraska, not exceeding the sums heretofore appropriated for similar objects, for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government, and for the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the Governor, Legislative Assembly, Judges of the Supreme Court, secretary, marshal, and attorney of said territory, and such other persons, and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 16. That when the lands in the said territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six, in each township in said territory, shall be, and the same are hereby reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said territory, and in the states and territories hereafter to be erected out of the same.

Sec. 17. That, until otherwise provided by law, the Governor of said territory may define the judicial districts of said territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said territory to the several districts; and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation, to be issued by him; but the Legislative Assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the times and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

Sec. 18. That all officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the territory of Nebraska, who, by virtue of the provisions of any law now existing, or which may be enacted during the present Congress, are required to give security for moneys that may be intrusted with them for disbursements, shall give such security, at such time and place, and in such manner as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe.

Sec. 19. That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to

wit: beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of ths state of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided, further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Kansas, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Kansas, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this act had never passed.

[With the single exception of the location of the seat of government for KANSAS at Fort Leavenworth, provided for in section 31, the ensuing sixteen sections, relative to the organization and government of the territory, are precisely similar to the sections already recited, providing for the government of Nebraska territory. The final section of the act, which has a general reference to both terries, is as follows:]

SEC. 37. *And be it further enacted*, That all treaties, laws, and other engagements made by the Government of the United States with the Indian tribes inhabiting the territories embraced within this act, shall be faithfully and rigidly observed, notwithstanding anything contained in this act; and that the existing agencies and superintendencies of said Indians be continued, with the same powers and duties which are now prescribed by law, except that the President of the United States may at his discretion change the location of the office of superintendent

ELECTORAL VOTES

FOR

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

ELECTION FOR THE FIRST TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1789, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1793.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	George Washington, of Virginia.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	Samuel Huntington, of Connecticut.	John Jay, of New York.	John Hancock, of Massachusetts.	R. H. Harrison, of Maryland.	George Clinton, of New York.	John Rutledge, of South Carolina.	John Milton, of Georgia.	James Armstrong, of Georgia.	Edward Telfair, of Georgia.	Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts.
5	New Hampshire....	5	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Massachusetts	10	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
7	Connecticut.....	7	5	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6	New Jersey.....	6	1	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Pennsylvania.....	10	8	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	3	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6	Maryland.....	6	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Virginia.....	10	5	....	1	1	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
7	South Carolina.....	7	....	....	....	1	....	....	6	....	....	....	....
5	Georgia	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	1	1
69	Whole No. Electors. Majority.....35	69	34	2	9	4	6	3	6	2	1	1	1

The first Congress under the Constitution was convened at the "Federal Hall," situated at the head of Broad, fronting on Wall street, (where the Custom-House now stands,) in the city of New York, on the first Wednesday, being March 4, 1789—Senators and Representatives having been elected from the eleven states which had ratified the Constitution; but, owing to the absence of a quorum, the House was not organized till the 1st of April, and, for a like reason, the Senate was not organized till the 6th; when the latter body "proceeded by ballot to the choice of a President, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the [electoral] votes for President of the United States." John Langdon, of New Hampshire, was chosen President *pro tem.* of the Senate, and Samuel Alyne Otis, of Massachusetts, Secretary; after which, proper measures were taken to notify the successful individuals of their election.

George Washington took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties April 30, 1789. (For his Inaugural Address, see p. 24.)

John Adams, Vice-President, entered upon his duties in the Senate April 21, 1789, and took the oath of office June 3, 1789

ELECTION FOR THE SECOND TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1793, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1797.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	George Washington, of Virginia.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	George Clinton, of New York.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Aaron Burr, of New York.
6	New Hampshire	6	6	....	....	....
16	Massachusetts	16	16	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	4	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	9	9	....	....	....
3	Vermont	3	3	....	....	....
12	New York	12	....	12	....	....
7	New Jersey	7	7	....	....	....
15	Pennsylvania	15	14	1	....	....
3	Delaware	3	3	....	....	....
8	Maryland	8	8	....	....	....
21	Virginia	21	....	21	....	....
4	Kentucky	4	....	....	4	....
12	North Carolina	12	....	12	....	....
8	South Carolina	8	7	....	....	1
4	Georgia	4	....	4	....	....
132	Whole No. of Electors	132	77	50	4	1
	Majority 67					

George Washington, re-elected President, took the oath of office for a second term, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1793.

John Adams, re-elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, December 2, 1793.

After the expiration of his second Presidential term, Washington retired to the tranquil shades of Mount Vernon, fondly indulging the hope that the remainder of his days would be peacefully enjoyed in his much-cherished home; but these pleasing anticipations were not allowed to remain long undisturbed. In 1798 the conduct of the French Directory and its emissaries led to frequent difficulties with this country, which were calculated to provoke a war; and the opinion was universally entertained that he who had formerly so well acquitted himself, must be again called to the command of our armies. Accordingly, early in July, the rank and title of "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, in the United States," was conferred upon him; and the Secretary of War, Mr. McHenry, immediately waited upon him to tender the commission. In a letter to President Adams, accepting "this new proof of public confidence," he makes a reservation that he shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require his presence, and adds: "I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, and that I cannot receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense."

ELECTION FOR THE THIRD TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1797, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1801.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Thos. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	Aaron Burr, of New York.	Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts.	Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut.	John Jay, of New York.	George Clinton, of New York.	S. Johnston, of North Carolina.	James Iredell, of North Carolina.	Geo. Washington, of Virginia.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	John Henry, of Maryland.
6	New Hampshire	6	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
16	Massachusetts.	16	....	13	....	...	1	....	....	2	....	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island...	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut...	9	....	4	....	....	....	5	....	...	....	....	....	....
4	Vermont.....	4	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12	New York.....	12	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	...	....	....	....	....
7	New Jersey....	7	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
15	Pennsylvania..	1	14	2	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware.....	3	....	3	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
11	Maryland.....	7	4	4	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
21	Virginia.....	1	20	1	1	15	....	....	3	....	....	1	....	....
4	Kentucky.....	....	4	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12	North Carolina.	1	11	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	3	1	1	....
8	South Carolina.	....	8	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
4	Georgia.....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....
3	Tennessee.....	....	3	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
139	No. of Electors. Majority... 70	71	68	59	30	15	11	5	7	2	3	2	1	2

John Adams, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1797.

Thomas Jefferson, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1797.

The administration of Mr. Adams encountered the most virulent opposition, both domestic and foreign. France, still in the confusion following her revolution, made improper demands on our country, which not being complied with, she commenced seizing American property on the high seas. Our people, taking different sides, were about equally divided—some approving and others deprecating the course pursued by France. Letters of marque and reprisal were issued by our government, and a navy was raised with surprising promptitude. This had the desired effect, peace being thereby secured; and the aggressor was taught that the Americans were friends in peace, but were not fearful of war when it could not be honorably averted.

The Indians on our western frontiers also caused much trouble; but at length, being severely chastised by General Wayne, they sued for peace, which was granted in 1795.

In 1800 the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington City, which had been designated by Washington, under a law of Congress, as the most central situation.

ELECTION FOR THE FOURTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1801, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1805.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Aaron Burr, of New York.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	John Jay, of New York.
6	New Hampshire	....	....	6	6	....
16	Massachusetts	....	....	16	16	....
4	Rhode Island	....	....	4	3	1
9	Connecticut	....	....	9	9	....
4	Vermont	....	....	4	4	....
12	New York	12	12	....	....	....
7	New Jersey	....	....	7	7	....
15	Pennsylvania	8	8	7	7	....
3	Delaware	....	....	3	3	....
10	Maryland	5	5	5	5	..
21	Virginia	21	21	....	....	....
4	Kentucky	4	4	....	....	....
12	North Carolina	8	8	4	4	....
3	Tennessee	3	3	....	....	....
8	South Carolina	8	8	....	....	....
4	Georgia	4	4	....	....	....
138	No. of Electors	73	73	65	64	1
	Majority ... 70					

The electoral vote for Thos. Jefferson and Aaron Burr being equal no choice was made by the people, and on the 11th of February, 1801 the House of Representatives proceeded to the choice of President in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. On the first ballot eight states voted for Thomas Jefferson, six for Aaron Burr, and the votes of two states were divided. The balloting continued till the 17th of February, when the thirty-fifth ballot, as had all previously, resulted the same as the first. After the thirty-sixth ballot, the Speaker declared that the votes of ten states had been given for Thomas Jefferson, the votes of four states for Aaron Burr, and the votes of two states in blank; and that, consequently, Thomas Jefferson had been elected for the term of four years.

Thomas Jefferson, thus elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1801.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Jefferson used the following memorable expression: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans: we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which ERROR OF OPINION MAY BE TOLERATED, WHERE REASON IS LEFT FREE TO COMBAT IT."

Aaron Burr, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1801.

ELECTION FOR THE FIFTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1805, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1809.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T.		V. PRES'T.	
		Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	George Clinton, of New York.	Rufus King, of New York.
7	New Hampshire	7	....	7	....
19	Massachusetts	19	....	19	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	9
6	Vermont	6	....	6	....
19	New York	19	....	19	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....
20	Pennsylvania	20	....	20	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3
11	Maryland	9	2	9	2
24	Virginia	24	....	24	....
14	North Carolina	14	....	14	....
10	South Carolina	10	....	10	....
6	Georgia	6	....	6	....
5	Tennessee	5	....	5	....
8	Kentucky	8	....	8	....
3	Ohio	3	....	3	....
176	Whole No. of Electors	162	14	162	14
	Majority 89				

Thomas Jefferson, elected President, took the oath of office for a second term, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1805.

George Clinton, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1805.

Among the most important acts of Mr. Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana from France for $15,000,000, which territory was surrendered to our government in December, 1803.

In November, 1808, the celebrated "ORDERS IN COUNCIL" were issued by the British government, which prohibited all trade with France and her allies; and, as a retaliatory measure, in December following Bonaparte issued his "MILAN DECREE," interdicting all trade with England and her colonies—thus subjecting almost every American vessel on the ocean to capture. In requital for these tyrannous proceedings, and that England and France might both feel their injustice, Congress decreed an embargo; but as this failed to obtain from either power an acknowledgment of our rights, and was also ruinous to our commerce with other nations, it was repealed in March, 1809.

ELECTION FOR THE SIXTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1809, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1813.

of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.			VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		James Madison, of Virginia.	George Clinton, of New York.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	George Clinton, of New York.	James Madison, of Virginia.	James Monroe, of Virginia.	John Langdon, of New Hampshire.	Rufus King, of New York.
7	New Hampshire	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	7
19	Massachusetts	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	19
4	Rhode Island	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	4
9	Connecticut	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	9
6	Vermont	6	....	....	....	....	....	6	....
19	New York	13	6	....	13	3	3	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	8	....	....	....	....
20	Pennsylvania	20	....	....	20	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	3
11	Maryland	9	....	2	9	....	....	....	2
24	Virginia	24	....	....	24	....	....	....	....
14	North Carolina	11	....	3	11	....	....	....	3
10	South Carolina	10	....	....	10	....	....	....	....
6	Georgia	6	....	....	6	....	....	....	....
7	Kentucky	7	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
5	Tennessee	5	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
3	Ohio	3	....	....	....	....	....	3	....
175	Whole No. of Electors	122	6	47	113	3	3	9	47
	Majority 88								

James Madison took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1809.

George Clinton, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1809.

Our national position, especially in regard to England and France, was certainly a very perplexing one when Mr. Madison came to the Presidency. We were not only threatened by enemies abroad, but were harassed by a savage foe on our western frontier, probably urged on by British influence, and led by the famous chief Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. These last were finally subdued in 1811; but our European foes were more troublesome. After all peaceful means had failed to check the aggressions of England, and when at length "patience had ceased to be a virtue," war was declared against that country, June 19, 1812. The events of that war it is not within our province to record; and it is sufficient to say, that they greatly elevated the American character in the estimation of both friends and enemies.

ELECTION FOR THE SEVENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1813, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1817.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. James Madison, of Virginia.	PRESID'T. De Witt Clinton, of New York.	V. PRES'T. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.	V. PRES'T. Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania
8	New Hampshire	....	8	1	7
22	Massachusetts	....	22	2	20
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	9
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....
29	New York	....	29	....	29
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	8
25	Pennsylvania	25	....	25	....
4	Delaware	....	4	....	4
11	Maryland	6	5	6	5
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....
8	Tennessee	8	....	8	....
7	Ohio	7	....	7	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....
217	Whole No. of Electors	128	89	131	86
	Majority 109				

James Madison, elected President for a second term. [There is no notice on the Journals of Congress of his having taken the oath.]

Elbridge Gerry, elected Vice-President, attended in the Senate on the 24th of May, 1813, and exhibited a certificate of his having taken the oath of office prescribed by law, which was read.

The war into which the country had been forced was brought to a close by the treaty of Ghent, which was signed December 24, 1814; but this treaty had scarcely been ratified, when it became necessary to commence another war for the protection of American commerce and seamen against Algerine piracies. In May, 1815, a squadron under Commodore Decatur sailed for the Mediterranean, where the naval force of Algiers was cruising for American vessels. After capturing two of the enemy's best frigates in that sea, Decatur proceeded to the Bay of Algiers, and there dictated a treaty which secured the United States from any further molestation from that quarter. Similar treaties were also concluded with the other Barbary powers.

ELECTION FOR THE EIGHTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1817, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1821.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T.		VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		James Monroe, of Virginia.	Rufus King, of New York.	D. D. Tompkins, of New York.	John E. Howard, of Maryland.	James Ross, of Pennsylvania.	John Marshall, of Virginia.	Rob't G. Harper, of Maryland.
8	New Hampshire	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
22	Massachusetts	....	22	....	22	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	....	5	4	....
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
29	New York	29	....	29	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Pennsylvania	25	....	25	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	....	3
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....	....	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....	....	....	....
8	Tennessee	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
8	Ohio	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Indiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
217	Whole No. of Electors	183	34	183	22	5	4	3
	Majority 109							

James Monroe took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1817.

Daniel D. Tompkins, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1817.

The Seminole and a few of the Creek Indians commenced depredations on the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama towards the close of 1817, for which they were severely chastised by a force under General Jackson, and gladly sued for peace.

In February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, by which Spain ceded to the United States East and West Florida and the adjacent islands. In the same year the southern portion of Missouri territory was set off under the name of Arkansas, for which a territorial government was formed; and Alabama was constituted a state, and admitted into the Union.

Early in 1820 the province of Maine, which had been connected with Massachusetts since 1652, was separated from it, and was admitted into the Union as an independent state.

ELECTION FOR THE NINTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1821, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1825.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T.		VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		James Monroe, of Virginia.	John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.	Richard Stockton, of New Jersey.	Robert G. Harper, of Maryland.	Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.	Daniel Rodney, of Delaware.
8	New Hampshire	7	1	7	....	....	1	....
15	Massachusetts	15	....	7	8	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	9	....	9	....	....	....	....
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
29	New York	29	....	29	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Pennsylvania	24	....	24	....	....	....	....
4	Delaware	4	....	....	....	....	..	4
11	Maryland	11	....	10	....	1	..	....
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....	....	..	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....	..	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....	....	..	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....	....	..	....
8	Tennessee	7	....	7	....	....	....	....
8	Ohio	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Indiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Mississippi	2	....	2	....	....	....	....
3	Illinois	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Alabama	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
9	Maine	9	....	9	....	....	....	....
3	Missouri	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
235	No. of Electors	31	1	218	8	1	1	4
	Majority 118							

James Monroe was re-elected President, but there is no notice on the Journals of Congress that he again took the oath of office.

Daniel D. Tompkins was re-elected Vice-President, but there is no record of his having again taken the oath of office.

Public attention was much occupied in 1824–5 by a visit from the venerable General Lafayette, who, after the lapse of nearly half a century from the period of his military career, was again welcomed with every token of respect that could be devised for honoring the "Nation's Guest." He landed in New York in August, 1824, and after remaining there a short time, set out on a tour through all the states. Upwards of a year was taken up in accomplishing this gratifying object; and in September, 1825, he sailed from Washington in the frigate Brandywine for his native home.

ELECTION FOR THE TENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1825, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1829.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.					
		Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	William H. Crawford, of Georgia.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.	Nathan Sanford, of New York.	Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina.	Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	Martin Van Buren, of New York.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
8	New Hampshire	....	8	....	....	7	....	....	1	....	....
15	Massachusetts	....	15	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	....
36	New York	1	26	5	4	29	7	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	....
28	Pennsylvania	28	....	....	....	28	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	1	2	....	1	....	....	....	....	2
11	Maryland	7	3	1	....	10	....	....	1	....	....
24	Virginia	....	....	24	....	....	....	24	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	....
9	Georgia	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....	9	....
14	Kentucky	....	....	....	14	7	7	....	....	....	....
11	Tennessee	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	....
16	Ohio	....	....	....	16	....	16	....	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	3	2	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
5	Indiana	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
3	Mississippi	3	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
3	Illinois	2	1	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
5	Alabama	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
9	Maine	....	9	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....
3	Missouri	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	3	....	....
261	Whole No. of Electors	99	84	41	37	182	30	24	13	9	2
	Majority.....131										

Neither candidate for the Presidency having received a majority of the electoral votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list of those voted for, which three were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. Twenty-four tellers (one member from each state) were appointed, who, after examining the ballots, announced that the votes of thirteen states had been given for John Quincy Adams; the votes of seven states for Andrew Jackson; and the votes of four states for William H. Crawford. The Speaker then declared that John Quincy Adams, having received a majority of the votes of all the states, was duly elected President of the United States for four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1825; on which day Mr. Adams took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties.

John C. Calhoun, having been elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1825.

ELECTION FOR THE ELEVENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1829, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1833.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	PRESID'T. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	VICE-PRESIDENT John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.	VICE-PRESIDENT Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.	VICE-PRESIDENT William Smith, of South Carolina.
9	Maine	1	8	1	8	....
8	New Hampshire	....	8	....	8	....
15	Massachusetts	....	15	....	15	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	8	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	7	....
36	New York	20	16	20	16	...
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	8	....
28	Pennsylvania	28	....	28	....	...
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3	....
11	Maryland	5	6	5	6	....
24	Virginia	24	....	24	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....
9	Georgia	9	....	2	....	7
14	Kentucky	14	....	14	....	....
11	Tennessee	11	....	11	....	....
16	Ohio	16	....	16	....	...
5	Louisiana	5	....	5	....	....
3	Mississippi	3	....	3	....	....
5	Indiana	5	....	5	....	....
3	Illinois	3	....	3	....	....
5	Alabama	5	....	5	....	....
3	Missouri	3	....	3	....	....
261	Whole No. of Electors	178	83	171	83	7
	Majority 131					

Andrew Jackson took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1829.

John C. Calhoun took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and presided in the Senate March 4, 1829.

A series of unfortunate political and social occurrences soon led to a rupture of that cordiality which had formerly existed between these two distinguished individuals, the consequences of which were peculiarly disastrous to the political aspirations of Mr. Calhoun, who was never afterwards regarded with much favor beyond the immediate limits of his own state.

ELECTION FOR THE TWELFTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1833, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1837.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	John Floyd, of Virginia.	William Wirt, of Maryland.	Martin Van Buren, of New York.	John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania.	William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania.	Henry Lee, of Massachusetts.	Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania.
10	Maine	10	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	7	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
14	Massachusetts	....	14	....	....	....	14	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	7
42	New York	42	....	....	....	42	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	....	....	....	....	30	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
10	Maryland	3	5	....	....	3	5	....	....	....
23	Virginia	23	....	....	....	23	....	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....
15	Kentucky	....	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....
15	Tennessee	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....
21	Ohio	21	....	....	....	21	....	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Indiana	9	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....
5	Illinois	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
7	Alabama	7	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
4	Missouri	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....
288	Whole No. of Electors	219	49	11	7	189	49	30	11	7
	Majority 145									

Andrew Jackson, re-elected President, took the oath of office, and continued his duties. March 4, 1833.

Martin Van Buren, having been elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1833.

Early in June, 1833, the President left Washington on a tour through the Northern states, and was every where received with an enthusiasm that evinced the cordial approval of his administration by the people. One of his first measures, on returning to the seat of government, was the removal of the public moneys from the United States Bank, for which act he encountered the most virulent hostility of a small majority of the Senate, who passed resolutions censuring his course. But this injustice has not been perpetuated; for on the 16th of January, 1837, these partisan resolutions were expunged from the records by order of a handsome majority.

ELECTION FOR THE THIRTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1837, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1841.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.					VICE-PRESIDENT.			
		Martin Van Buren, of New York.	Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio.	Hugh L. White, of Tennessee.	Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.	Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina.	Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.	Francis Granger, of New York.	John Tyler, of Virginia.	William Smith, of Alabama.
10	Maine	10	....	....	....	....	10	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....
14	Massachusetts	....	....	....	14	....	....	14	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	8	....	....	....	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....
42	New York	42	....	....	....	....	42	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	....	....	....	8	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	....	....	....	30	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....
10	Maryland	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	10	....
23	Virginia	23	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	....	15	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	....	....	....	11	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	11	....
15	Kentucky	....	15	....	....	....	....	15	....	....
15	Tennessee	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	15	....
21	Ohio	....	21	....	....	....	....	21	....	....
5	Louisiana	5	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
9	Indiana	....	9	....	....	....	....	9	....	....
5	Illinois	5	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....
7	Alabama	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....
4	Missouri	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
3	Arkansas	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
3	Michigan	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
294	Whole No. of Electors	170	73	26	14	11	147*	77	47	23
	Majority.....148									

Martin Van Buren, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1837.

Richard M. Johnson, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1837.

Urged by the unprecedented financial embarrassments which were experienced in every branch of industry, and especially by the mercantile class, Mr. Van Buren's first measure was to convene a special meeting of Congress early in September, '37, which continued in session forty days, but accomplished very little. A bill authorizing the issue of $10,000,000 in treasury notes was passed; but the Independent Treasury bill (the great financial measure of the administration) was then rejected, although afterwards (in 1840) adopted.

* Elected by the Senate.

ELECTION FOR THE FOURTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1841, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1845.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio.	PRESID'T. Martin Van Buren, of New York.	VICE-PRESIDENT. John Tyler, of Virginia.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Rich'd M. Johnson, of Kentucky.	VICE-PRESIDENT. L. W. Tazewell, of Virginia.	VICE-PRESIDENT. James K. Polk, of Tennessee.
10	Maine	10	....	10	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	....	7	....	7	....	....
14	Massachusetts	14	....	14	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	8	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	7	....	7	....	....	....
42	New York	42	....	42	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	30	....	....	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	....	....	....
10	Maryland	10	....	10	....	....	....
23	Virginia	....	23	....	22	....	1
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	11	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	11	....	11	....	....	....
15	Kentucky	15	....	15	....	....	....
15	Tennessee	15	....	15	....	....	....
21	Ohio	21	....	21	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	5	....	5	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	4	....	4	....	....	....
9	Indiana	9	....	9	....	....	....
5	Illinois	....	5	....	5	....	....
7	Alabama	....	7	....	7	....	....
4	Missouri	....	4	....	4	....	....
3	Arkansas	....	3	....	3	....	....
3	Michigan	3	....	3	....	....	....
294	No. of Electors	234	60	234	48	11	1
	Majority 148						

William H. Harrison, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1841.

John Tyler, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1841.

Soon after his inauguration, President Harrison issued a proclamation, convening Congress for an extra session on the 31st of May, to consider "sundry weighty and important matters, chiefly growing out of the state of the revenue and finances of the country.' But he did not live to submit his remedial plans—dying, after a very brief illness, on the 4th of April, exactly one month after coming into office. He was the first President who had died during his official term, and a messenger was immediately dispatched with a letter, signed by all the

members of the Cabinet, conveying the melancholy intelligence to the Vice-President, then at Williamsburg, Va. By extraordinary means he reached Washington at five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, and at twelve o'clock the Heads of Departments waited upon him, to pay their official and personal respects. After signifying his deep feeling of the public calamity sustained by the death of President Harrison, and expressing his profound sensibility of the heavy responsibilities so suddenly devolved upon himself, he made known his wishes that the several Heads of Departments would continue to fill the places which they then respectively occupied, and his confidence that they would afford all the aid in their power to enable him to carry on the administration of the government successfully.—Mr. Tyler afterwards took and subscribed the following oath of office:

"I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. JOHN TYLER.
"APRIL 6, 1841."

Pursuant to the proclamation of President Harrison, Congress met on the 31st of May, and continued in session until the 13th of September. On the 27th of July a bill for the establishment of "The Fiscal Bank of the United States," passed the Senate by a vote of 26 to 23, and was concurred in by the House of Representatives on the 6th of August—128 to 91. President Tyler, however, returned the bill on the 16th, with his objections, and it was lost for lack of a constitutional majority. But the friends of a national bank were not to be deterred from their purpose by a single repulse: another bill (about the same in substance) was immediately hurried through both Houses, under the title of "The Fiscal Corporation of the United States," and this also shared the fate of its predecessor.

A Senate bill for the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, was concurred in by the House on the 18th of August, and became a law; but, meeting with very general condemnation, it was soon after repealed.

A bill was also passed at this extra session for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several states, in proportion to population.

In 1842 an important treaty, adjusting the north-eastern boundary of the United States, was negotiated at Washington between Mr. Webster, on the part of this country, and Lord Ashburton, on the part of Great Britain.

During the last year of Mr. Tyler's administration much excitement prevailed on the proposed annexation of Texas to the Union, which was strongly resisted at the North, on the ground that the South and southern institutions would thereby gain increased power in the national councils. A treaty of annexation, signed by the President, was rejected by the Senate, but measures were taken by which Texas was admitted the year following.

ELECTION FOR THE FIFTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1845, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1849.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. James K. Polk, of Tennessee.	PRESID'T. Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	V. PRES'T George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.	V. PRES'T T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.
9	Maine	9	....	9	....
6	New Hampshire	6	....	6	....
12	Massachusetts	....	12	....	12
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4
6	Connecticut	....	6	....	6
6	Vermont	....	6	....	6
36	New York	36	....	36	....
7	New Jersey	....	7	....	7
26	Pennsylvania	26	....	26	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3
8	Maryland	....	8	....	8
17	Virginia	17	....	17	...
11	North Carolina	....	11	....	11
9	South Carolina	9	....	9	...
10	Georgia	10	....	10	...
12	Kentucky	....	12	....	12
13	Tennessee	....	13	....	13
23	Ohio	....	23	....	23
6	Louisiana	6	...	6	...
6	Mississippi	6	....	6	...
12	Indiana	12	....	12	...
9	Illinois	9	....	9	....
9	Alabama	9	....	9	....
7	Missouri	7	....	7	....
3	Arkansas	3	....	3	....
5	Michigan	5	....	5	....
275	Whole No. of Electors	170	105	170	105
	Majority 138				

James K. Polk took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1845.

George M. Dallas took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1845.

The most important incidents of Mr. Polk's administration were the admission of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, the latter of which resulted in extending our territorial boundaries to the Pacific ocean, embracing regions of incalculable value.

ELECTION FOR THE SIXTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1849, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1853.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana.	PRESID'T. Lewis Cass, of Michigan.	V. PRES'T. Millard Fillmore, of New York.	V. PRES'T. William O. Butler, of Kentucky.
9	Maine	....	9	....	9
6	New Hampshire	....	6	....	6
12	Massachusetts	12	....	12	...
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
6	Connecticut	6	....	6	....
6	Vermont	6	....	6	...
36	New York	36	....	36	....
7	New Jersey	7	....	7	....
26	Pennsylvania	26	....	26	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	....
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....
17	Virginia	....	17	....	17
11	North Carolina	11	....	11	....
9	South Carolina	....	9	....	9
10	Georgia	10	....	10	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....
13	Tennessee	13	....	13	....
23	Ohio	....	23	....	23
6	Louisiana	6	....	6	....
6	Mississippi	....	6	...	6
12	Indiana	....	12	....	12
9	Illinois	....	9	....	9
9	Alabama	....	9	....	9
7	Missouri	....	7	....	7
3	Arkansas	....	3	....	3
5	Michigan	....	5	....	5
3	Florida	3	...	3	...
4	Texas	....	4	....	4
4	Iowa	....	4	....	4
4	Wisconsin	....	4	....	4
290	Whole No. of Electors	163	127	163	127
	Majority ... 146				

Zachary Taylor took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1849. He did not, however, long enjoy his honors—death suddenly closing his earthly career, July 9, 1850.

Millard Fillmore took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1849. Congress being in session at the time President Taylor died, the Vice-President sent a message to both houses on the 10th of July, in which he feelingly announced the melancholy event. On the same day he took the requisite oath, and entered on the execution of the office of President.

Willie P. Mangum, of N. C., President *pro tem.* of the Senate, acted as Vice-President, *ex officio*, during the remainder of the term.

ELECTION FOR THE SEVENTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1853, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1857

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.	PRESID'T. Winfield Scott, of New Jersey.	V. PRES'T William R. King, of Alabama.	V. PRES'T Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina.
8	Maine	8	....	8	....
5	New Hampshire	5	....	5	....
13	Massachusetts	....	13	....	13
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
6	Connecticut	6	....	6	5
5	Vermont	....	5	....	....
35	New York	35	....	35	....
7	New Jersey	7	....	7	....
27	Pennsylvania	27	....	27	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	...
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....
15	Virginia	15	....	15	....
10	North Carolina	10	....	10	....
8	South Carolina	8	....	8	....
10	Georgia	10	....	10	....
12	Kentucky	....	12	....	12
12	Tennessee	....	12	....	12
23	Ohio	23	....	23	....
6	Louisiana	6	....	6	....
7	Mississippi	7	....	7	....
13	Indiana	13	....	13	....
11	Illinois	11	....	11	....
9	Alabama	9	....	9	....
9	Missouri	9	....	9	....
4	Arkansas	4	....	4	....
6	Michigan	6	....	6	....
3	Florida	3	....	3	....
4	Texas	4	....	4	....
4	Iowa	4	....	4	....
5	Wisconsin	5	....	5	....
4	California	4	....	4	....
296	Whole No. of Electors	254	42	254	42
	Majority ... 149				

Franklin Pierce took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1853.

The oath of office was administered to William R. King by a commission while he was on a visit to Cuba for the benefit of his health; but he died soon after his return home, and Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, then President of the Senate, acted as Vice-President, *ex officio*, during the remainder of the term.

John P. Hale, of N. Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated by the "Free Democracy" for President and Vice-President, but they did not receive a single electoral vote.

ELECTION FOR THE E GHTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1857, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1861.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.			VICE-PRESIDENT		
		James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.	John C. Fremont, of New York.	Millard Fillmore, of New York.	John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.	William L. Dayton, of New Jersey.	Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee.
8	Maine	....	8	....	....	8	....
5	New Hampshire	....	5	....	....	5	....
13	Massachusetts	....	13	....	....	13	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	....	4	....
6	Connecticut	....	6	....	....	6	....
5	Vermont	....	5	....	....	5	....
35	New York	....	35	....	....	35	....
7	New Jersey	7	....	....	7	....	....
27	Pennsylvania	27	....	....	27	....	....
3	Delaware	3	....	....	3	....	....
8	Maryland	....	....	8	....	....	8
15	Virginia	15	....	....	15	....	....
10	North Carolina	10	....	....	10	....	....
8	South Carolina	8	....	....	8	....	....
10	Georgia	10	....	....	10	....	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	....	12	....	....
12	Tennessee	12	....	....	12	....	....
23	Ohio	....	23	....	....	23	....
6	Louisiana	6	....	....	6	....	....
7	Mississippi	7	....	....	7	....	....
13	Indiana	13	....	....	13	....	....
11	Illinois	11	....	....	11	....	....
19	Alabama	9	....	....	9	....	....
9	Missouri	9	....	....	9	....	....
4	Arkansas	4	....	....	4	....	....
6	Michigan	....	6	....	....	6	....
3	Florida	3	....	....	3	....	....
4	Texas	4	....	....	4	....	....
4	Iowa	....	4	....	....	4	....
5	Wisconsin*	....	5	....	....	5	....
4	California	4	....	....	4	....	....
296	Whole No. of Electors	174	114	8	174	114	8
	Majority 149						

James Buchanan took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1857.

John C. Breckenridge took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1857.

* When the Electoral votes were being counted, in Joint Convention of the Senate and House of Representatives, objections were made to including the votes of Wisconsin, because the electors did not meet until the day after that prescribed by law. The President of the Convention stated that he merely announced that James Buchanan had been elected President of the United States, without any reference to the contested votes, and declined expressing an opinion on the subject.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Is one of peculiar interest, and therefore we feel warranted in giving more details of its design and history than can be allotted to the Seals of the several States. Soon after the declaration of independence, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a great seal for the infant republic; and they employed a French West Indian, named Du Simitiere, not only to furnish designs, but also to sketch such devices as were suggested by themselves. In one of his designs, the artist displayed on a shield the armorial ensigns of the several nations from whence America had been peopled—embracing those of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, and Holland. On one side was placed Liberty with her cap, and on the other was a rifleman in uniform, with his rifle in one hand and a tomahawk in the other—the dress and weapons being peculiar to America.

Franklin proposed, for the device, Moses lifting his wand, and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed with the waters. For a motto, the words of Cromwell, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

Adams proposed the Choice of Hercules; the hero resting on a club, Virtue pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand, and persuading him to ascend; and Sloth, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground, displaying the charms, both of her eloquence and person, to seduce him into vice.

Jefferson proposed the Children of Israel in the Wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; and, on the reverse, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs, from whom we claim the honor of being

descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed.

Franklin and Adams then requested Jefferson to combine their ideas in a compact description of the proposed great seal, which he did, and that paper, in his handwriting, is now in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. This design consisted of a shield with six quarterings, *parti* one, *coupi* two, in heraldic phrase. The first gold, and an enameled rose, red and white, for England; the second white, with a thistle, in its proper colors, for Scotland; the third green, with a harp of gold, for Ireland; the fourth blue, with a golden lily-flower, for France; the fifth gold, with the imperial black eagle, for Germany; and the sixth gold, with the Belgic crowned red lion, for Holland. These denoted the countries from which America had been peopled. He proposed to place the shield within a red border, on which there should be thirteen white escutcheons, linked together by a gold chain, each bearing appropriate initials, in black, of the confederated States Supporters, the Goddess of Liberty on the right side, in a corslet of armor, in allusion to the then state of war, and holding the spear and cap in her right hand, while her left supported the shield. On the left, the Goddess of Justice, leaning on a sword in her right hand, and in her left a balance. The crest, the eye of Providence in a radiant triangle, whose glory should extend over the shield and beyond the figures Motto: *E Pluribus Unum*—"Many in one." Around the whole, "SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MDCCLXXVI." For the reverse, he proposed the device of Pharoah sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided waters of the Red Sea in pursuit of the Israelites. Rays from a pillar of fire in a cloud, expressive of the Divine presence and command, beaming on Moses, who stands on the shore, and, extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overwhelm Pharoah and his followers. Motto: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

Jefferson's device was highly approved by his coadjutors, and the committee reported on the 10th of August, 1776; but, for some unaccountable reason, their report was neglected, not having been even placed on record; and the affair was allowed to slumber until the 24th of March, 1779, when Messrs. Lovell, of Massachusetts, Scott, of Virginia, and Houstoun, of Georgia, were appointed a committee to make another device.

On the 10th of May following they reported in favor of a seal four inches in diameter, one side of which should be composed of a shield with thirteen diagonal stripes, alternate red and white. Supporters, a warrior, holding a sword, on one side, and on the other the figure of Peace, bearing an olive branch. The crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars. Motto: *Bello vel Pace*—"For War or Peace," and the legend, "Seal of the United States," On the reverse, the figure of Liberty, seated in a chair, holding the staff and cap. Motto: *Semper*—"Forever"—and underneath, MDCCLXXVI. This report was re-committed, and again submitted with some slight modifications substituting the figure of an Indian with bow and arrows in his right hand for that of a warrior) just a year afterward; but it was not accepted, and the matter rested until April, 1782, when Henry Middleton, Elias Boudinot,

and Edward Rutledge were appointed a third committee to prepare a seal. They reported on the 9th of May following, substantially the same as the committee of 1779 and 1780; but, this not being satisfactory to Congress, on the 13th of June the whole matter was referred to Charles Thomson, its secretary.

He in turn procured several devices, among which was one by William Barton, of Philadelphia, consisting of an escutcheon, with a blue border, spangled with thirteen stars, and divided in the centre, perpendicularly, by a gold bar. On each side of this division, within the blue border, thirteen bars or stripes, alternate red and white, like the American flag adopted on the 14th of June, 1777. Over the gold bar an eye surrounded with a glory, and in the gold bar a Doric column resting on the base of the escutcheon, having a displayed eagle on its summit. The crest, a helmet of burnished gold, damasked, grated with six bars, and surmounted by a red cap of dignity, such as dukes wear, with a black lining, and a cock armed with gaffs. Supporters, on one side the Genius of America, with loose Auburn tresses, having on her head a radiant crown of gold, encircled with a sky-blue fillet, spangled with silver stars, and clothed in a long, loose, white garment, bordered with green. From the right shoulder to the left side, a blue scarf with stars, the cinctures being the same as in the border. Around her waist a purple girdle, fringed with gold, and the word VIRTUE embroidered in white. Her interior hand rested on the escutcheon, and the other held the American standard, on the top of which a white dove was perched. The supporter on the other side was a man in complete armor; his sword-belt blue, fringed with gold; his helmet encircled with a wreath of laurel, and crested with one white and two blue plumes; his left hand supporting the escutcheon, and his right holding a lance with a bloody point. Upon an unfurled green banner was a golden harp with silver strings, a brilliant star, and two lily-flowers, with two crossed swords below. The two figures stood upon a scroll, on which was the motto *Deo Favente*—"With God's Favor"—in allusion to the eye of Providence in the arms. On the crest, in a scroll, was the motto *Virtus sola Invicta*—"Virtue alone is Invincible."

After vainly striving to perfect a seal which should meet the approval of Congress, Thomson finally received from John Adams, then in London, an exceedingly simple and appropriate device, suggested by Sir John Prestwich, a baronet of the West of England, who was a warm friend of America, and an accomplished antiquarian. It consisted of an escutcheon bearing thirteen perpendicular stripes, white and red, with the chief blue, and spangled with thirteen stars; and, to give it greater consequence, he proposed to place it on the breast of an American eagle, displayed, without supporters, as emblematic of self-reliance. It met with general approbation, in and out of Congress, and was adopted in June, 1782: so it is manifest, although the fact is not extensively known, that we are indebted for our national arms to a titled aristocrat of the country with which we were then at war. Eschewing all heraldic technicalities, it may be thus described in plain English: Thirteen perpendicular pieces, white and red; a blue field; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed, proper, holding in his right talon an olive-branch, and in his left a bundle of thirteen arrows, all

proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with the motto *E Pluribus Unum.* For the crest, over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a golden glory breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars, forming a constellation of white stars on a blue field.

Reverse.—A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith, an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper. Over the eye, the words *Annuit Cœptis*—"God has favored the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, are the numeral Roman letters MDCCLXXVI.; and underneath the motto, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*—"A new Series of Ages"—denoting that a new order of things had commenced in the Western hemisphere. Thus, after many fruitless efforts, for nearly six years, a very simple seal was adopted, and yet remains the arms of the United States.

SEALS OF THE SEVERAL STATES,

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

VIRGINIA.

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1607.

On a white or silver field the Goddess of Virtue, the genius of the commonwealth, is represented, dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear with one hand, and holding a sword in the other. She is in the act of trampling on Tyranny, represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right. On a label above the figure is the word "Virginia;" and beneath them is the motto, *Sic semper tyrannis*--"Thus we *serve* tyrants."

NEW-YORK

SETTLED BY THE DUTCH, 1684.

A shield, or escutcheon, on which is represented the rising sun, with a range of hills and water in the foreground. Above the shield, for the crest, is a wreath surmounted by a half globe, on which rests a startled eagle, with wings outstretched. For the supporters of the shield, on the right is represented the figure of Justice, with the sword in one hand and the scales in the other; and on the left the Goddess of Liberty, with the wand and cap in her left hand, and the olive branch of peace in her right. Below the shield is the motto, *Excelsior*—"More elevated"—denoting that the course of the State is *onward* and *higher*. Around the border of the seal, between two plain lines, is the inscription, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of New-York."

MASSACHUSETTS.

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1620.

On the blue ground of an irregularly-formed shield an Indian is represented, dressed with belted hunting-shirt and moccassins. In his right hand is a golden bow, and in his left an arrow with the point downward. A silver star on the right denotes one of the United States of America. A wreath forms the crest of the escutcheon, from which extends a right arm, clothed and ruffed, the hand grasping a broad-sword, the pommel and hilt of which are of gold. Around the escutcheon, on a waving band or label, are the words, *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*—"By the sword she seeks peace under liberty."

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1623.

A circular field, surrounded by a laurel wreath, encompassed by the words, in Roman capitals, "*Sigillum Reipublicæ Neo Hantoniensis:*" "The Seal of the State of New-Hampshire," with the date, 1784, indicating the time of the adoption of the State Constitution. Land and water are represented in the foreground, with the trunk of a tree on which the hardy woodman is yet engaged, embracing a scene of busy life, significant of the industrious habits of the people; and a ship on the stocks, just ready for launching, with the American banner displayed, is figurative of readiness to embark on the sea of political existence. The sun, just emerging above the horizon, symbolizes the rising destiny of the State.

NEW-JERSEY.

SETTLED BY THE DUTCH, 1624.

A white shield, or escutcheon, bearing three ploughs, indicating that the chief reliance of the people is upon agriculture. The crest is a horse's head, supported by a full-face, six-barred helmet, resting on a vase—the latter resting on the top of the escutcheon. The supporters are the Goddess of Liberty on the right, with her wand and cap, her left arm resting on the escutcheon; and Ceres on the left, her right hand resting on the escutcheon and her left supporting a cornucopia, filled with fruits and flowers. Around the border of the sea are the words, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of New Jersey," and at the base the date of its adoption, in numeral letters, MDCCLXXVI., (1776.)

DELAWARE.

SETTLED BY SWEDES AND DANES, 1627.

An azure shield, or escutcheon, divided into two equal parts by a white band or girdle. A cow is represented in the lower part of the shield, and in the upper part are two symbols, designed probably to represent the agricultural productions of the State—grain and tobacco. The crest (a wreath) supports a ship under full sail, displaying the American banner. On a white field around the escutcheon were formerly wreaths of flowers, branches of the olive, and other symbols, but these have been displaced for two figures, representing a mariner and a hunter. At the bottom of the seal, in numeral letters, is the date of its adoption, MDCCXCIII. (1793), and around the border, in Roman capitals, are the words "Great Seal of the State of Delaware."

MARYLAND.

SETTLED BY THE IRISH CATHOLICS, 1635.

On a white or silver field the figure of Justice is seen prominent in the centre of the foreground, grasping an olive branch, and a sword in her right hand, while her left is elevating her well-ballanced scales above her head. At her feet is a laurel wreath, the fasces and a cornucopia, with an uninscribed white label waving loosely from their midst. In the distance, on the right, is a view of the ocean, with a ship under full sail in the perspective, bounded by a clear horizon. On the left are some hogsheads of tobacco, symbolical of the principal products, and a ship with its sails partly unfurled, indicative of commercial enterprise.

CONNECTICUT.

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1635.

The original seal is of an oval form, without any ornamental devices, and on the field are delineated three grape-vines, each winding around and sustained by an upright support, the whole representing the three settlements (Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield) which formed the early colony. On a label waving around the lower vine is the motto *Qui Transtulit Sustinet*—"He who planteth still sustains." Around the margin of the field are the words, "*Sigillum Reipublicæ Connecticutensis*:" "The Seal of the State of Connecticut." [The Colonial seal had fifteen grape-vines, with a hand protruding from the clouds on the right above them, grasping the label and motto, which was waving in the air; but that seal has been broken, and the present seal used in its stead.]

RHODE ISLAND.

SETTLED BY ROGER WILLIAMS, 1636.

A white or silver shield, on which is an anchor with two flukes, and a cable attached. Above the shield, in Roman capitals, is the word HOPE, and from each upper corner of the shield is suspended an unlettered label. The device symbolizes those principles of civil and religious liberty which led to the founding of this colony, and in which the faith of the citizens of the State is still deeply *anchored*. The motto, HOPE, above the shield, directs the mind to the uncertain future, anticipating the growing prosperity of the State, and the perpetuity of its free institutions; while the unlettered label denotes that events are still progressing in the march of Time, and await the completion of History, before the destiny of the State shall be recorded thereon.

NORTH CAROLINA.

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1650.

In the original seal, which differs somewhat from the margin, on a white or silver field are represented the Goddess of Liberty on the right, and Ceres, the Goddess of corn and of harvests, on the left. In the right hand of the former is a scroll, representing the Declaration of Independence, and the left supports her wand, surmounted by the cap of liberty. Ceres has in her right hand three heads or ears of wheat, and in her left the cornucopia or horn of plenty, filled with the products of the earth. In the background is a marine view, indicative of the commercial resources of the State. Around the outer circle, starting from a star on the top, are the words, in Roman capitals, "Great Seal of the State of North Carolina."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

SETTLED BY THE HUGUENOTS, 1670.

In the centre of the white or silver field is the device of a palmetto-tree (a species of the date), with its topmost branches denoting a vigorous growth, emblematical of the prosperous progress of the State. Near the base of the tree are two cross-pieces; composed of bundles of spears, at the crossing of which is attached a scroll or label, with the motto, *Animis opibusque parati*—"Ready [to defend it] with our lives and property," which motto, by the way, is more generally put around the lower half of the outer circle, with the words "South Carolina" occupying the upper half, preceded by a single star.

PENNSYLVANIA.

SETTLED BY WILLIAM PENN, 1682.

On a white field is an escutcheon parted by a yellow or golden band or girdle, on which is represented a plough in its natural color. In the upper part of the shield, a ship under full sail is gliding smoothly over the waves of the sea, which are surmounted by an azure sky. At the lower part, on a green ground, are three golden sheaves of wheat, denoting that agriculture as well as commerce, is one of the primary reliances of the State. On the right of the shield is a stalk of maize, and on the left an olive branch. For the crest, on a wreath of olive flowers, is perched a bald eagle, with wings extended, holding in its beak a label, with the motto, "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence." Around the margin of the seal are the words, "Seal of the State of Pennsylvania"

GEORGIA.

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1733.

In the centre of a circular white or silver field are three pillars, supporting an arch, around which are emblazoned the word "Constitution." The pillars are symbolical of the three departments of the State government—the Legislative, the Judiciary, and the Executive; and on the one at the right, representing the Legislative, is the word "Wisdom;" on the second, representing the Judiciary, is the word "Justice;" and on the third, representing the Executive, is the word "Moderation." Near the right pillar is the figure of an officer with a drawn sword, denoting that the aid of the military is always ready to enforce respect and obedience to law. Around the margin of the circle are the words, "State of Georgia. 1799."

VERMONT.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION. 1791.

A circular field, in the middle of which is a tall evergreen with fourteen branches—thirteen representing the original States, and the fourteenth or topmost the State of Vermont, supported by the others. Beneath a cloudless firmament, the Green Mountains are seen towering in the distance, and in the foreground are sheaves of wheat and a cow, indicative of an agricultural and grazing country, affording the true sources of thrift and independence for an industrious population. The Green Mountains have ever been considered characteristic of the hardy race which inhabits that region. Around the margin of the field, in Roman capitals, the word "Vermont" occupies the upper half circle, and the words "Freedom and Unity" occupy the lower half.

KENTUCKY.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1792.

Although the seal of this State is apparently and really among the most simple in its design, yet it embodies a significance which should commend itself to the serious consideration of all who are disposed to place a slight value upon the union of the States. In the centre of a circular white or silver field, two friends are seen grasping one hand of each other in a firm and cordial embrace, while the other is extended to each other's back, significant of encouragement and support. Below them is the expressive motto, "United we stand; divided we fall." An ornamented double circle encompasses the whole, with the words "Seal of Kentucky" between the lines of the upper half circle.

TENNESSEE.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1796.

A white or silver circular field, the upper half of which is occupied on the right by a plough, in the centre by a sheaf of wheat, and on the left by a stalk of cotton. Underneath these emblems, extending across the entire middle of the field, is the word "Agriculture," denoting that the first reliance of the State should be upon the productions of the soil. The lower half is occupied by a loaded barge, with the word "Commerce" below the water, indicating that the prosperity of all may be promoted through this means. Over the sheaf of wheat are the numeral letters XVI., denoting that this was the sixeeenth State admitted into the Union. Around the border are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Tennesee," with the date, 1796.

OHIO.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1802.

In a circular field are several devices, significant of the general surface, business, and prospects of the State. The central portion represents a cultivated country, with the emblem of agriculture (a wheat-sheaf) on the right, and on the left a bundle of seventeen arrows, indicating the number of States then constituting the Union. In the distance is a range of mountains, the base skirted by a tract of woodland. The rising sun, which is just becoming visible above the mountains, betokens the rising glory of the State. The foreground is an expanse of water, with a keel-boat on its surface, indicative of inland trade. Around the border are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio," with the date, 1802.

LOUISIANA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1812.

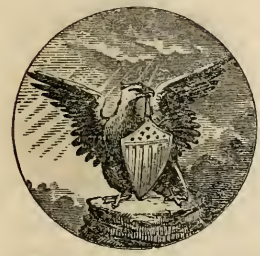
On a white or silver circular field is represented a pelican, standing by her nest filled with young ones. in the attitude of "protection and defence," and in the act of feeding them—all sharing alike her maternal assiduity. The mother-bird symbolizes the general government of the Union; while the birds in the nest represent the several States. Above are the scales of Justice, which, taken in connection with the emblems beneath, signify that "equal and exact justice" must be extended to all the members of the confederacy. The semi-circle of eighteen stars indicates the number of States at the time of admission. In the upper portion of the external circle are the words, "State of Louisiana," and in the lower, the words, "Union and Confidence."

INDIANA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1816.

In the lower portion of a circular field is represented a scene of prairie and woodland, with the surface gently undulating —descriptive of the predominant features of the State. In the foreground is a buffalo, an animal once abounding in great numbers in this region, apparently startled by the axe of the woodman or pioneer, who is seen on the left, felling the trees of the forest, denoting the march of civilization westward. In the distance, on the right, is seen the sun, just appearing above the verge of the horizon. In a half-circle, spanning the expressive scene beneath, are the words "Indiana State Seal." Around the outer margin of the whole is a plain green border, surrounded by a simple black line.

MISSISSIPPI.



ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1817.

In the centre of a white or silver circular field is the American eagle, with wide-spread wings, occupying the entire surface; which may be considered as denoting that all the people of the State, from whatever clime or country they may have come, are purely American in feeling, and are content to repose their trust under the broad wings of the "bird of liberty." In the right talon of the eagle is a bundle of four arrows, significant of power to sustain the principles of government, and to repel the assaults of an enemy; while an olive branch in the left betokens a disposition to maintain peace. Around the outer circle, between parallel lines, are the words, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of Mississippi."

ILLINOIS.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1818.

In the centre of a white or silver escutcheon is a representation of the American eagle, its wings spread so as to touch the inner margin of the shield. In its right talon is the emblem of peace, an olive branch; while three arrows are grasped in the left, denoting its readiness to sustain the three great branches of government. On its breast is an escutcheon, the lower half of which is represented of a red color, and the upper half blue, the latter bearing three white or silver stars. From its beak extends a label, waving in the air above it, with the inscription "State Sovereignty: National Union." In the upper part of a circle enclosing the shield are the words, "Seal of the State of Illinois," and in the lower part the date, "Aug't 26, 1818."

ALABAMA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1819.

Nearly the entire of a circular field is occupied with the representation of a map, embracing the names and localities of the principal rivers and towns, as they existed at the time when the territorial government was established, 1817. A portion of East Florida, embracing the line of surface as far as Pensacola, is included in the map, as also a small portion of Tennessee, sufficient to show the boundaries on either side. Around the circle, between two parallel lines, are the words, in Roman capitals, "Alabama. Executive office."

MAINE.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1820.

A white or silver shield, on which is represented a pine-tree, with a moose-deer recumbent at its base—emblematical of the valuable timber of the State, and of the security and repose enjoyed by the animals which range its immense forests. The "supporters" are a mariner resting on his anchor, and a husbandman with his scythe—denoting that commerce and agriculture are each primary resources of the State. Above the shield is the North Star, beneath which is the motto, *Dirigo*—"I direct;" and under the shield is the name of the State, in Roman capitals; while sea and land compose the foreground. On the left, the tall masts of a ship are perceptible in the distance, the sails spread, denoting a readiness for commercial enterprise.

MISSOURI.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1821.

On a circular shield, equally divided by a perpendicular line, is a red field on the right side, in which is the white or grizzly bear of Missouri. Above, separated by a wavy or curved line, is a white or silver crescent, in an azure field. On the left, on a white field, are the arms of the United States. A band surrounds the escutcheon, on which are the words, "United we stand, divided we fall." For the crest, over a yellow or golden helmet, full faced and grated with six bars, is a silver star; and above it, a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars. The supporters are two grizzly bears, standing on a scroll inscribed, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*—"The public safety is the supreme law." Underneath are the numerals MDCCCXX., and around the circle the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri."

ARKANSAS.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1836.

Occupying the lower part of a circle is a shield, near the base of which is a white star on a blue field, representing the State. In the middle portion is a bee-hive, signifying industry, and a plough, denoting agriculture; while a steamboat, emblematic of commerce, fills the upper part. For the crest, the goddess of liberty is represented with her wand and cap in one hand, and a wreath of laurel in the other, surrounded by a constellation of stars, indicating the States. The supporters two eagles, one grasping a bundle of arrows, and the other an olive branch; a label extending from the claw of each, with the motto *Regnant Populi*—"The People rule." On either side of the base is a cornucopia, and around the circle which encloses the the whole are the words, "Seal of the State of Arkansas."

MICHIGAN.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1837.

On an escutcheon in the centre of a white field is the representation of a peninsula extending into a lake, a man with his gun, and the rising sun. On the upper part is the word *Tuebor*—"I will defend it;" and on a label extending across the lower part is the motto, *Si quarris peninsulam amœnam circumspice*—"If you seek a delightful country (peninsula), behold it." The supporters are a common deer on the right, and a moose on the left, both abounding in the forests of Michigan. For the crest, is the American eagle; above which, on a label waving above all, is the motto, *E Pluribus Unum.* Around the outer circle, between two parallel lines, are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Michigan, A. D. MDCCCXXXVII."

FLORIDA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1845.

The seal which was originally used for the territory of Florida, although not formally adopted as that of the State, has been continued ever since, and of course retains all its legal force. In the centre of a circular white or silver field is represented the American eagle, "the bird of liberty," grasping the emblem of peace, an olive branch, in its left talon; and in its right a bundle of three arrows, significant of the three principal reliances of good government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. Above are arranged in a semi-circle thirteen stars, emblematic of the thirteen original states, and below, the ground is represented as covered with the prickly pear, a fruit common to the country, and for which an appropriate motto would be, "Let us live."

Texas is the only State which enjoyed a literally independent or isolated existence previous to its admission into the Union. During its struggle with Mexico, it adopted as an official seal a white or silver star of five points on an azure field, encircled by branches of the live oak and olive. Around the outer circle were the words, "Republic of Texas" in Roman capital letters. With the exception of the words around the margin, which is now blank, except the word "Texas" in the upper half-circle, the former seal has been adopted since by the State. The live oak (*quercus virens*), which abounds in the forests of Texas, is a strong and durable timber, much used in ship-building, and forming an important article of export.

TEXAS.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1845.

Like some of the other States which enjoyed a territorial existence for a length of time before they were invested with the dignity of States, Iowa still retains her original seal, the device of which is perhaps more simple and expressive than that of any other State. In the centre of a white or silver circular field is an eagle in the attitude of flight, grasping in his right talon a bow, its left talon just visible within the inner circle around the field, and holding in its beak a single arrow. The words, "Seal of the Territory of Iowa," form nearly a complete circle around the field, leaving a blank space at the lower part, and these again are surrounded by white circular dots, on a black ground.

IOWA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1846.

A large portion of the field is occupied by land and water scenery, denoting the agricultural, commercial, and mining interests of the State. In the foreground is a man ploughing with a span of horses; in the middle is a pile of lead in bars, a barrel, a rake, a sheaf of wheat, an anchor, and a cornucopia. Lakes Michigan and Superior are represented, with a sloop on the former, and a steamboat on the latter, towards which an Indian on the shore is pointing. In the distance is a level prairie, skirted by a range of woodland—a light-house and school-house on the left, and the State-house in the centre. In a semi-circle above are the words, *Civilitas successit Barbarum*—"Civilization has succeeded Barbarism." At the bottom is the date when a territorial government was formed, "Fourth of July, 1836;" and around the whole are the words "The Great Seal of the Territory of Wisconsin which has not yet been changed.

WISCONSIN.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1847.

CALIFORNIA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1850.

In the foreground on the left, Minerva is seated on a rock, near the bank of an extensive bay or river, which winds its course among the majestic mountains on either side. Her spear is grasped in the right hand, while the left rests on the top of her shield by her side, near which is a grizzly bear, significant of the snwy region round about. On the right is a hardy miner with his pick, seeking the golden treasures secreted among the rocks. Along the centre is seen a majestic bay, with two clippers in full view, indicating that commerce is one of the chief reliances of the people Above the snow-covered mountains, which bound the view, is the Greek word *Eureka*—"I have found."

MINNESOTA.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1857.

The seal of this State represents the peculiar circumstances under which it was originally settled, when the white man first undertook to convert its comparative deserts into productive agricultural fields. In the distance, an Indian is seen mounted on a swift steed, retreating from the haunts where he had long been accustomed to enjoy unmolested the sports of the chase, and to roam uninterruptedly amidst his native forests. In the foreground is seen the new settler, preparing for his future subsistence by turning up the furrow, preparatory to sowing seed for the harvest. His gun and ammunition are lying behind him, ready to repel the assaults of savage foes, to which he is constantly exposed. The motto, *L'Etoile du Nord*, (the Star of the North,) is expressive of the bright future which this State is destined to realize.

OREGON.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1858.

The emblems on the shield in the centre of the circular ground, are indicative of the advantages to be derived from a wild and mountainous country, through the medium of commerce, which are symbolized by the range of mountains depicted in the lower, and by the ship occupying the upper portion of the escutcheon. The right supporter is a representative of that unfortunate race who once entirely possessed the country, but who have been compelled to yield their heritage in part to the power of that enterprising people whose emblem is the eagle, here used as the left supporter. The crest, a beaver, denotes the sort of trade which formerly distinguished the inhabitants of this region.

UTAH.

The simple device adopted for this territory is sufficiently expressive, and requires no lengthened explanation of what it is intended to symbolize. The bee-hive, in all ages, has been regarded as the emblem of industry, and the position in which it is here represented, as resting on a substantial foundation, implies that it is the certain harbinger of success in every important undertaking. The representations of vegetation in the background, imply that these productions of the soil are to be obtained by well-applied skill and industry, and upon these are the people to rely for a prosperous future. Perhaps, if we take into consideration the social condition of the original settlers of this territory, the bee-hive may be regarded as significant of the unity of interests at that time predominant. The dates at the top and bottom indicate the first formation of a territorial government.

NEBRASKA.

This seal displays the characteristics of the settlers who have adopted this territory as their future home. Representatives of the two principal classes of people (agricultural and mechanical) are seen in the act of upholding the Constitution, over which the American flag is gathered, in token of its care and protection. The steamboat, seen in the distance on the right, indicates that the State possesses many resources for extensive commerce, which may be materially aided by railroads and other internal improvements, which are shadowed out on the left The plow and the anvil are emblems of the immense agricultural and mineral advantages which abound in every direction, and whose developement is certain to secure for this territory an eminent degree of wealth and prosperity. The motto, "Popular Sovereignty," expresses the will of the people to govern themselves, and is only the embodiment of a sentiment almost universally prevalent.

CABINET OFFICERS,

FROM THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT,

APRIL 30, 1789, TO MARCH 4, 1857.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

When appointed.	*Names.*	*States.*
Sept. 26, 1789	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia.
Jan. 2, 1794	Edmund Randolph	Virginia.
Dec. 10, 1795	Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts.
May 13, 1800	John Marshall	Virginia.
March 5, 1801	James Madison	Virginia.
March 6, 1809	Robert Smith	Maryland.
April 2, 1811	James Monroe	Virginia.
Feb. 28, 1815	Do.	Virginia.
March 5, 1817	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts.
March 7, 1825	Henry Clay	Kentucky.
March 6, 1829	Martin Van Buren	New York.
May 24, 1831	Edward Livingston	Louisiana.
May 29, 1833	Louis McLane	Delaware.
June 27, 1834	John Forsyth	Georgia.
March 5, 1841	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts.
July 24, 1843	Abel P. Upshur	Virginia.
March 6, 1844	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
March 5, 1845	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania.
March 7, 1849	John M. Clayton	Delaware.
July 20, 1850	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts.
Dec. 9, 1852	Edward Everett	Massachusetts.
March 5, 1853	William L. Marcy	New York.
March 6, 1857	Lewis Cass	Michigan.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Sept. 11, 1789	Alexander Hamilton	New York.
Feb. 3, 1795	Oliver Wolcott	Connecticut.
Dec. 31, 1800	Samuel Dexter	Massachusetts.
May 14, 1801	Albert Gallatin	Pennsylvania.
Feb 9, 1814	George W. Campbell	Tennessee.
Oct. 6, 1814	Alexander J. Dallas	Pennsylvania.
Oct. 22, 1816	William H. Crawford	Georgia.
March 7, 1825	Richard Rush	Pennsylvania.
March 6, 1829	Samuel D. Ingham	Pennsylvania.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY—CONTINUED.

When appointed.	*Names.*	*States*
Aug. 8, 1831	Louis McLane	Delaware.
May 29, 1833	William J. Duane	Pennsylvania.
Sept. 23, 1833	Roger B. Taney	Maryland.
June 27, 1834	Levi Woodbury	N. Hampshire
March 5, 1841	Thomas Ewing	Ohio.
Sept. 13, 1841	Walter Forward	Pennsylvania.
March 3, 1843	John C. Spencer	New York.
June 15, 1844	George M. Bibb	Kentucky.
March 5, 1845	Robert J. Walker	Mississippi.
March 7, 1849	William M. Meredith	Pennsylvania.
June 20, 1850	Thomas Corwin	Ohio.
March 5, 1853	James Guthrie	Kentucky.
March 6, 1857	Howell Cobb	Georgia.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Sept. 12, 1789	Henry Knox	Massachusetts.
Jan. 2, 1795	Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts.
Jan. 27, 1796	John McHenry	Maryland.
May 7, 1800	John Marshall	Virginia.
May 13, 1800	Samuel Dexter	Massachusetts.
Feb. 3, 1801	Roger Griswold	Connecticut.
March 5, 1801	Henry Dearborn	Massachusetts
March 7, 1809	William Eustis	Massachusetts.
Jan. 13, 1813	John Armstrong	New York.
Sept. 27, 1814	James Monroe	Virginia.
March 3, 1815	William H. Crawford	Georgia.
April 7, 1817	George Graham	Virginia.
March 5, 1817	Isaac Shelby	Kentucky.
Oct. 8, 1817	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
March 7, 1825	James Barbour	Virginia.
May 26, 1828	Peter B Porter	Pennsylvania.
March 9, 1829	John H. Eaton	Tennessee.
Aug. 1, 1831	Lewis Cass	Ohio.
March 3, 1837	Benjamin F. Butler	New York.
March 7, 1837	Joel R. Poinsett	South Carolina
March 5, 1841	John Bell	Tennessee.
Sept. 13, 1841	John McLean	Ohio.
Oct. 12, 1841	John C. Spencer	New York.
March 8, 1843	James M. Porter	Pennsylvania.
Feb. 15, 1844	William Wilkins	Pennsylvania.
March 5, 1845	William L. Marcy	New York.
March 7, 1849	George W. Crawford	Georgia.

SECRETARIES OF WAR—CONTINUED.

When appointed.	*Names.*	*States.*
July 20, 1850	E. Bates	Missouri.
Aug. 15, 1850	Charles M. Conrad	Louisiana.
March 5, 1853	Jefferson Davis	Mississippi.
March 6, 1857	John B. Floyd	Virginia.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

May 3, 1798	George Cabot	Massachusetts.
May 21, 1798	Benjamin Stoddert	Maryland.
July 15, 1801	Robert Smith	Maryland.
March 2, 1805	Jacob Crowninshield	Massachusetts.
March 7, 1809	Paul Hamilton	South Carolina.
Jan. 12, 1813	William Jones	Pennsylvania.
Dec. 17, 1814	Benjamin W. Crowninshield	Massachusetts.
Nov. 9, 1818	Smith Thompson	New York.
Sept. 1, 1823	John Rodgers	Massachusetts.
Sept. 16, 1823	Samuel L. Southard	New Jersey.
March 9, 1829	John Branch	North Carolina.
May 23, 1831	Levi Woodbury	N. Hampshire.
June 30, 1834	Mahlon Dickerson	New Jersey.
June 20, 1838	James K. Paulding	New York.
March 5, 1841	George E. Badger	North Carolina.
Sept. 13, 1841	Abel P. Upshur	Virginia.
July 24, 1843	David Henshaw	Massachusetts.
Feb. 15, 1844	Thomas W. Gilmer	Virginia.
Mar. 14, 1844	James Y. Mason	Virginia.
Mar. 10, 1845	George Bancroft	Massachusetts.
Sept. 9, 1846	John Y. Mason	Virginia.
March 7, 1849	William B. Preston	Virginia.
July 20, 1850	William A. Graham	North Carolina.
July 22, 1852	John P. Kennedy	Maryland.
March 5, 1853	James C. Dobbin	North Carolina
March 6, 1857	Isaac Toucey	Connecticut.

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

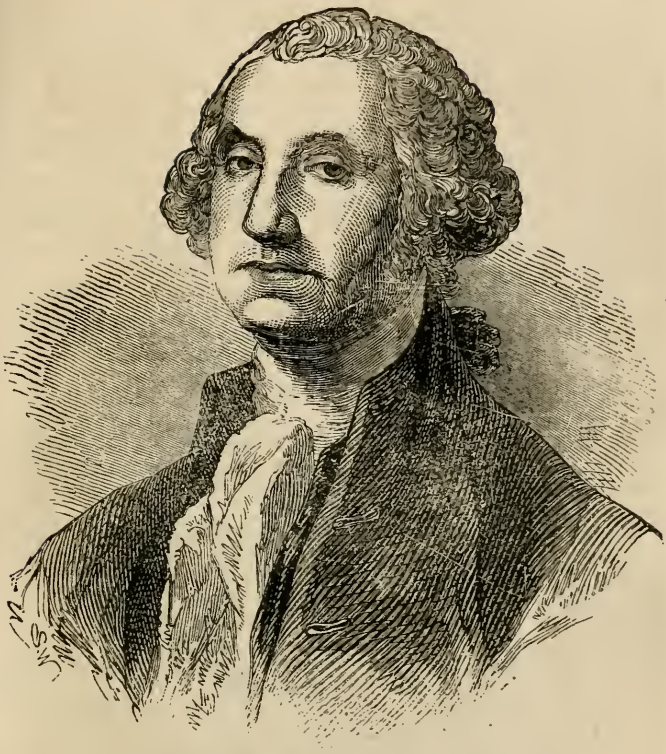
March 7, 1849	Thomas Ewing	Ohio.
July 20, 1850	James A. Pearce	Maryland.
Aug. 15, 1850	T. M. T. McKennan	Pennsylvania.
Sept. 12, 1850	Alexander H. H. Stuart	Virginia.
March 5, 1853	Robert McClelland	Michigan.
March 6, 1857	Jacob Thompson	Mississippi.

POSTMASTERS GENERAL.

When appointed.	*Names.*	*States.*
Sept. 26, 1789	Samuel Osgood	Massachusetts
Aug. 12, 1791	Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts
Feb. 25, 1795	Joseph Habersham	Georgia.
Nov. 28, 1801	Gideon Granger	Connecticut.
Mar. 17, 1814	Return J. Meigs	Ohio
June 26, 1823	John McLean	Ohio.
March 9, 1829	William T. Barry	Kentucky.
May 1, 1835	Amos Kendall	Kentucky.
May 18, 1840	John M. Niles	Connecticut.
March 6, 1841	Francis Granger	New York.
Sept. 13 1841	Charles A. Wickliffe	Kentucky.
March 5, 1845	Cave Johnson	Tennessee.
March 7, 1849	Jacob Collamer	Vermont.
July 20, 1850	Nathan K. Hall	New York.
Aug. 31, 1852	Samuel D. Hubbard	Connecticut.
March 5, 1853	James Campbell	Pennsylvania.
March 6, 1857	Aaron V. Brown	Tennessee.

ATTORNEY GENERALS.

Sept. 26, 1789	Edmund Randolph	Virginia.
Jan. 27, 1794	William Bradford	Pennsylvania.
Dec. 10, 1795	Charles Lee	Virginia.
Feb. 20, 1801	Theophilus Parsons	Massachusetts
March 5, 1801	Levi Lincoln	Massachusetts.
March 2, 1805	Robert Smith	Maryland.
Dec. 23, 1805	John Breckenridge	Kentucky.
Jan. 20, 1807	Cæsar A. Rodney	Pennsylvania.
Dec. 11, 1811	William Pinkney	Maryland.
Feb. 10, 1814	Richard Rush	Pennsylvania.
Nov. 13, 1817	William Wirt	Virginia.
March 9, 1829	John McPherson Berrien	Georgia.
July 20, 1831	Roger B. Taney	Maryland.
Nov. 15, 1833	Benjamin F. Butler	New York.
July 7, 1838	Felix Grundy	Tennessee.
Jan. 10, 1840	Henry D. Gilpin	Pennsylvania.
March 5, 1841	John J. Crittenden	Kentucky.
Sept. 13, 1841	Hugh S. Legare	South Carolina
July 1, 1843	John Nelson	Maryland.
March 5, 1845	John Y. Mason	Virginia.
Oct. 17, 1846	Nathan Clifford	Maine.
June 21, 1848	Isaac Toucey	Connecticut.
March 7, 1849	Reverdy Johnson	Maryland.
July 20, 1850	John J. Crittenden	Kentucky.
March 5, 1853	Caleb Cushing	Massachusetts.
March 6, 1857	Jeremiah S. Black	Pennsylvania.



GEORGE WASHINGTON,

THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE most exemplary character, perhaps, that ever adorned any era in history, and who received in his life-time the noble appellations of "the Founder of a Republic," and "the Father of his Country," was born in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the 22d day of February, 1732. His early instruction was domestic and scanty, but full of good discipline and sound principles; and as his father died when he was only ten years old, he had no subsequent opportunities for acquiring a thorough literary or scientific education. However as his mind was naturally mathematical and philosophical, he prepared himself to be useful to his fellow-citizens as a civil engineer; and as the country was wild, and much of it then unsurveyed, he occasionally found agreeable and profitable employment in surveying different

parts of his native state. He also directed much of his attention to the science of arms, in the use of which every young man was instructed, in order to repel the incursions of the Indians, who were often led on by skillful Frenchmen. At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of Virginia, which gave him the rank of major, and soon after he was advanced to a colonelcy and sent by Gov. Dinwiddie to the Ohio with despatches to the French commander, who was erecting fortifications from Canada to New Orleans, in violation of existing treaties. The Governor was so much pleased with the faithful discharge of this duty, that he ordered his journal, which extended to only eighty days, to be printed; but, small as it was, it afforded evidence of great sagacity, fortitude, and a sound judgment, and firmly laid the foundation of his future fame.

In the spring of 1755, Washington was persuaded to accompany General Braddock as an aid, with the rank of colonel, in his disastrous expedition against Fort Du Quesne; and had his advice been followed on that occasion, the result would have been very different.

Three years afterwards (1758) Washington commanded the Virginians in another expedition against the fort, which terminated successfully. At the close of this campaign he left the army, and was soon after married to Mrs. Martha Custis, (the widow of Col. Daniel Parke Custis,) whose maiden name was Dandridge, and whose intelligent and patriotic conduct, as wife and widow, will ever be gratefully remembered in American annals.

In 1759 he was elected to the House of Burgesses, and continued to be returned to that body, with the exception of occasional intervals, until 1774, when he was sent to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress. His well-tempered zeal and his military skill, which enabled him to suggest the most proper means for national defence, if the country were urged to extremities, soon fixed all eyes upon him, as one well qualified to direct in the hour of peril; and accordingly, after the first scene of the revolutionary drama was opened at Lexington and Concord, and an army had concentrated at Cambridge, he was, on the 15th of June, 1775, unanimously appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces. The self-sacrificing spirit which governed his future course is too well known to require any elucidation.

After bringing the war to a successful termination, he hastened to Annapolis, where Congress were then in session, and on the 23d of December, 1783, formally resigned his commission.

In May, 1787, he was elected to the Convention which met at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a Constitution, and was at once called upon to preside over its deliberations. After that admirable instrument was adopted by the people, he was unanimously elected the first President of the United States for four years; at the expiration of which, he was unanimously re-elected for a second term.

On the 12th of December, 1799, he was seized with an inflammation in the throat, which grew worse the next day, and terminated his life on the 14th, in the 68th year of his age.

JOHN ADAMS,

THE SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

And whose fame as a patriot and statesman is imperishable, was born at Braintree, Mass., October 19, 1735. He early displayed superior capacity for learning, and graduated at Cambridge college with great credit. After qualifying himself for the legal profession,

he was admitted to practice in 1761, and soon attained that distinction to which his talents were entitled. From the commencement of the troubles with Great Britain, in 1769, he was among the most active in securing the freedom of his country. Being elected to the first Continental Congress, he took a prominent part in all the war measures that were then originated; and subsequently suggested the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the army. He was one of the committee which reported the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the next year visited France as commissioner to form a treaty of alliance and commerce with that country. Although the object had been accomplished before his arrival, his visit had otherwise a favorable effect on the existing position of affairs; and he was afterwards appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, which, after many laborious and fruitless efforts, was finally accomplished in 1783. In 1785, he was sent to England as the first minister from this country, and on his return was elected first Vice-President, in which office he served two terms, and was then, in 1797, elected to succeed Washington as President. Many occurrences tended to embarrass his administration, and to render it unpopular; but it is now generally admitted to have been characterized by patriotism and vigor equal to the emergencies which then existed. His political opponents, however, managed to defeat his re-election, and he was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801; after which, he retired to his farm at Quincy, where his declining years were passed in the gratification of his unabated love for reading and contemplation, and where he was constantly cheered by an interesting circle of friendship and affection. The semi-centennial anniversary of American Independence (July 4, 1826,) was remarkable, not merely for the event which it commemorated, but for the decease of two of the most active participants in the measures by which independence was achieved. On that day, Adams and Jefferson were both gathered to their fathers, within about four hours of each other, "cheered by the benediction of their country, to whom they left the inheritance of their fame, and the memory of their bright example."

As has been noticed elsewhere, Mr. Adams deemed it prudent, in the early part of his administration, when impending difficulties with France seemed to render war inevitable, to offer Washington the commission of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the army, which he accepted as a matter of duty, and held until his death, but fortunately never found it necessary to take the field.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

THE THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Shadwell, Albemarle county, Va., (near Monticello, the seat where he died,) April 13, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary's college, and graduated with distinction when quite young. He was a great lover of learning, and particularly of natural philosophy. With the celebrated George Wythe, he commenced the study of the law, and became a favorite pupil. Mr. Jefferson was never distinguished as an advocate, but was considered a good lawyer. Soon after he came to

the bar, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and in that body was duly appreciated for his learning and aptitude for business. He at once took fire at British oppression; and in 1774, he employed his pen in discussing the whole course of the British ministry. The work was admired, and made a text-book by his countrymen. In June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, from Virginia. In this body he soon became conspicuous, and was considered a firm friend to American liberty. In 1776, he was chosen chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. This instrument is nearly all his own, and was sanctioned by his coadjutors with few alterations. In 1778, Mr. Jefferson was appointed ambassador to France, to form a treaty with that government, but ill health prevented his accepting of this office. He succeeded Patrick Henry, in 1779, as Governor of Virginia, and continued in that station two years. In 1781, he composed his notes on Virginia. In 1783, he was sent to France, to join the ministers of our country, Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin. In 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as ambassador, and continued performing the duties of that office for two years, when he retired, and returned home. In 1789, he was made secretary of state, under Washington, in which situation he was highly distinguished for his talents. This station he resigned in 1793, and retired to private life. In 1797, he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and took his seat as President of the Senate, on the following 4th of March. In 1801, he was elected President of the United States, which office he held for eight years. After completing his second term, he retired to private life, in which he spent his days in philosophical pursuits, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he expired, just fifty years after penning the Declaration of Independence. His course was one of his own. Never lived there a politician, who did more than Thomas Jefferson, to bring his fellow-citizens to his own opinions.

JAMES MADISON,

THE FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange county, Va., March 16, 1751. His studies, preparatory to entering Princeton College, were pursued under the most favorable circumstances, he being provided with the most accomplished instructors, and he graduated with hi h honor in 1771. On

returning to Virginia, he zealously commenced the study of the law which he subsequently abandoned for political life.

In 1776, he was elected to the General Assembly of Virginia; and from this period, for more than forty years, he was continually in office, serving his state and his country in various capacities, from that of a state legislator to that of President.

In 1778, he was elected by the legislature to the executive council of the state, where he rendered important aid to Henry and Jefferson, governors of Virginia, during the time he held a seat in the council; and by his probity of character, faithfulness in the discharge of duty, and amiableness of deportment, he won the approbation of these great men. In the winter of 1779–80, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, and became immediately an active and leading member, as the journal of that body abundantly testifies.

In 1784, '5, '6, he was a member of the legislature of Virginia. In 1787, he became a member of the Convention held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of preparing a Constitution for the government of the United States. Perhaps no member of that body had more to do with the formation of that noble instrument, the "Constitution of the United States of America," than Mr. Madison.

It was during the recess between the proposition of the Constitution by the Convention of 1787, and its adoption by the states, that that celebrated work, "The Federalist," made its appearance. This is known to be the joint production of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. This same year he was elected to Congress, and held his seat until the Continental Congress passed away among the things that were. He was a member of the state convention of Virginia which met to adopt the Constitution, and on the establishment of the new Congress under the Constitution, he was chosen a member, retaining his seat until the close of Washington's administration.

In 1801, as one of the presidential electors, he had the gratification of voting for his illustrious friend Jefferson, who immediately offered him a place in his cabinet, which was accepted. Accordingly he entered on the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State, which duties he continued to perform during the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and on the retirement of that great statesman, in 1809, he succeeded to the Presidency, in which office he served two terms.

Mr. Madison then retired to his peaceful home in Virginia, where he passed the remainder of his days in favorite pastimes, loved by the many and respected by all, until the 28th day of June, 1826, when the last survivor of the framers of our Constitution was gathered to his fathers, full of years and glory.

JAMES MONROE,

THE FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

One of the few exalted characters that served his country in both a civil and military capacity, was born in Westmoreland county, Va., April 28, 1758, and was educated at William and Mary's college, whence he graduated in 1776, and commenced the study of the law. Anxious to aid in the struggle for independence, which had then just began, he abandoned his studies, and entered the army as a cadet—joining a corps under the gallant General Mercer. He soon distinguished himself in several well-fought battles, and rapid promotion

followed, until he reached the rank of captain. He was at Harlem Heights and White Plains, and shared the perils and fatigues of the distressing retreat of Washington through New Jersey, as well as the glory of the victory over the Hessians at Trenton, where he received a musket-ball in the shoulder; notwithstanding which, he valiantly "fought out the fight." He subsequently accepted the post of an aid to Lord Stirling, with the rank of major, in which position he saw much hard service—being engaged in almost every conflict for the two succeeding campaigns, and displaying great courage and coolness at the bloody battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Aspiring to a separate command, he obtained permission to raise a regiment in his native state; for which purpose he left the army, and returned to Virginia, where he encountered so many unexpected and discouraging obstacles, that he finally relinquished the enterprise, and resumed his law studies in the office of Mr. Jefferson.

In 1780 he was elected to the Virginia legislature, and in the following year was made one of Governor Jefferson's council, in which he continued until 1783, when, at the age of twenty-four years, he became a member of the Continental Congress. After serving three years in that body, he was again returned to the state legislature.

In 1788, while a member of the Convention to decide upon the adoption of the new Constitution, he voted in the minority against that instrument; but this vote did not at all affect his popularity Two years afterwards he was elected United States' senator, and in 1794 he was sent envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles. After settling the cession of Louisiana to the United States, he went to England to succeed Mr. King as minister at the court of St. James. The affair of the frigate Chesapeake placing him in an uncomfortable situation, he returned to the United States, and, in 1810, was once more elected to the Virginia legislature. He was soon after chosen governor of that state, in which office he remained until Mr. Madison called him to assume the duties of Secretary of State in his cabinet. In 1817, he was elected President of the United States, and in 1821 was unanimously re-elected, with the exception of a single vote in New Hampshire. His administration was a prosperous and quiet one.

He united with Jefferson and Madison in founding the university of Virginia; and when the convention was formed for the revision of the constitution of his state, he was called to preside over its action. Not long after this, he went to reside with a beloved daughter (the wife of Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.) in New York city, where he lived until the anniversary of independence in 1831, when, "amidst the pealing joy and congratulations of that proud day, he passed quietly and in glory away."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Quincy, Mass., July 11, 1767, and received the advantages of a pretty thorough education before entering Harvard college, which was not uutil the year 1786. After graduating with marked credit, he commenced the study of law at Newburyport, in the

office of the Hon. Theophilus Parsons, for many years afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts. While pursuing his studies he found leisure to write several newspaper essays, which attracted much attention, and displayed a maturity of taste and judgment seldom attained so early in life. In 1794 Washington appointed him minister to the Netherlands, and subsequently transferred him to Portugal. He was afterwards, at different periods, minister to Prussia, Russia, and England; and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain at Ghent in 1815. In 1817 he was appointed Secretary of State, in which office he continued during Mr. Monroe's administration, eight years; when he was elected by the House of Representatives President of the United States—the people having failed in making a choice. Like his father, he encountered strong opposition, and only served one term in this office, being defeated in a re-election by General Jackson. He then retired to his farm at Quincy, but did not long remain in private life; for two years afterwards, he was chosen representative in Congress, and continued to be re-elected until his death, which occurred in the capitol at Washington, February 23, 1848. Two days previous to this sad event, while engaged in his duties in the House of Representatives, he received a paralytic stroke, which apparently deprived him of all consciousness. He was borne to the Speaker's room, where he received every attention that could be bestowed by anxious and devoted friends, but all in vain—his hour was come. The last words he was heard to utter were, "This is the last of earth!"

Mr. Adams was a man of rare gifts and rich acquisitions. A diligent student, and economical of his time, he found opportunity, amidst all his public cares, to cultivate his tastes for literature and the sciences. He was one of the finest classical and belles-lettres scholars of his time, and filled the chair of Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Harvard college for several years. Even in his old age, he often astonished his hearers with the elegant classical allusions and rhetorical tropes with which he enriched and embellished his own productions.

ANDREW JACKSON,

THE SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

A STATESMAN of rare integrity, and a general of invincible skill and courage, was born at Waxhaw, Lancaster county, S. C., in 1767, and while yet a mere lad, did something towards achieving the independence of his country. It is said that he commenced his military career at the age of fourteen years, and was soon after taken prisoner, together with an elder brother. During his captivity, he was ordered

by a British officer to perform some menial service, which he promptly refused, and for this refusal he was "severely wounded with the sword which the Englishman disgraced." He was educated for the bar, and commenced practice at Nashville, Tenn., but relinquished his legal pursuits to "gain a name in arms." In the early part of the war of 1812, Congress having voted to accept fifty thousand volunteers, General Jackson appealed to the militia of Tennessee, when twenty-five hundred enrolled their names, and presented themselves to Congress, with Jackson at their head. They were accepted, and ordered to Natchez, to watch the operations of the British in lower Mississippi. Not long after, he received orders from head-quarters, to disband his men, and send them to their homes. To obey, he foresaw, would be an act of great injustice to his command, and reflect disgrace on the country, and he resolved to disobey. He accordingly broke up his camp, and returned to Nashville, bringing all his sick with him, whose wants on the way he relieved with his private means, and there disbanded his troops in the midst of their homes.

He was soon called to the field once more, and his commission marked out his course of duty on the field of Indian warfare. Here for years he labored, and fought, and diplomatized, with the most consummate wisdom and undaunted courage. It was about this time that the treaty of the "Hickory Ground" occurred, which gave him the familiar sobriquet of "Old Hickory."

The crowning glory of his whole military career was the battle of New Orleans; which will ever occupy one of the brightest pages in American history.

At the close of the war he returned to his home in Nashville; but in 1818 was again called on by his country to render his military services in the expulsion of the Seminoles. His conduct during this campaign has been both bitterly condemned and highly applauded. An attempt in the House of Representatives to inflict a censure on the old hero for the irregularities of this campaign, after a long and bitter debate, was defeated by a large majority.

In 1828, and again in 1832, General Jackson was elected to fill the presidential chair; thus occupying that elevated position for eight successive years. He then retired to his hospitable mansion ("The Hermitage") near Nashville, "loaded with wealth and honors, bravely won," where he continued to realize all the enjoyments that are inseparable from a well-spent life, until death translated him to those higher rewards, which "earth can neither give nor take away." He died June 8, 1845, and his last hours were soothed by a trustful reliance on the Saviour of the world for salvation.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

THE EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in the flourishing town of Kinderhook, New York, September 5, 1782, and early received the best education that could then be obtained in the schools in his immediate vicinity. Having sufficiently prepared himself for the study of law, he entered the office of Francis Sylvester, in his native town, where he remained about six

years. But law did not engross his whole time: he found leisure occasionally to peer into the mysteries of political economy, and finally arrived at the conclusion that his chances for fame and fortune were at least equal in the arena of politics to anything he might accomplish by a strict adherence to legal pursuits. Fully impressed with this idea, he early set about cultivating what little popularity could be gained in his limited sphere, and so won upon the confidence of his neighbors and friends as to be appointed, while yet in his *teens*, a delegate to a convention in his native county, in which important political measures were to be acted upon.

In 1808 he was appointed surrogate of Columbia county, the first public office he ever held; and in 1812 and 1816 he was elected to the state senate, in which body he became a distinguished leader of the Madison party, and one of its most eloquent supporters.

In 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate, in which he held his seat for nearly eight years, and became remarkable not only for his close attention to business, but also for his devotion to the great principles of the democratic party.

In 1828 he was elected Governor of his native state, and entered upon the duties of that office on the first of January, 1829; but he filled the gubernatorial chair for only a few weeks. In March following, when General Jackson was elevated to the Presidency, he tendered Mr. Van Buren the post of Secretary of State, which was accepted. At the expiration of two years he resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and was immediately appointed minister to England; but when his nomination was submitted to the Senate, (June 25, 1831,) it was rejected by the casting vote of the Vice-President, (Mr. Calhoun,) and of course he was recalled. As his friends attributed his rejection entirely to personal and political rancor, it only served to raise Mr. Van Buren in the estimation of his political adherents; and the result was, that in May following he was nominated with great unanimity for the Vice-Presidency by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore. His triumphant election was regarded not merely as a high compliment to himself, but as a wholesome rebuke to his opponents.

In 1836 he was put in nomination for the chief magistracy, to which he was elected by a large majority over General Harrison; but at the next Presidential election, the tables were turned, and he only received sixty votes out of two hundred and ninety-four.

After his defeat, he returned to Kinderhook, where he remained some time, and then visited Europe, with one of his sons, whose restoration to health was the principal object of his journey.

Not long after his return, he consented to become once more a candidate for the Presidency, and in 1848 received the nomination of the Free-soil party; but he did not secure a single electoral vote. Since then, he has had little to do with political affairs; yet it has been recently manifested that his opinions have undergone some modification, and he is now avowedly favorable to the election of the democratic nominee, James Buchanan, to the office of President.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

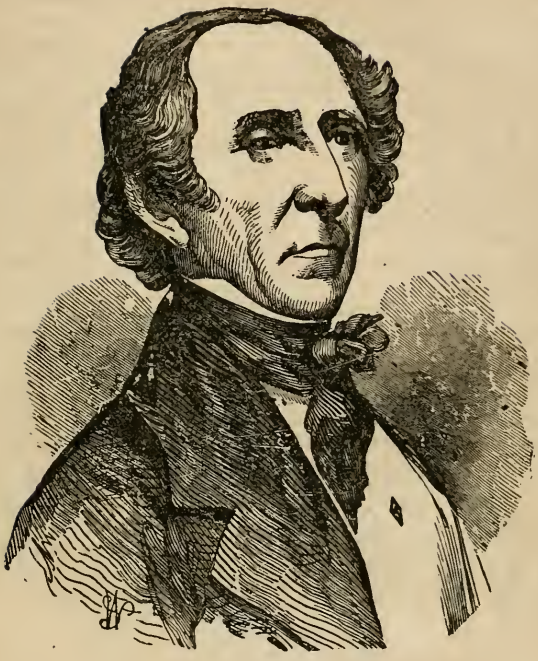
THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Was born in Charles City county, Va., February 9, 1773, and was educated for the medical profession at Hampden Sydney college. He graduated at a time when our north-western frontier was suffering

much from the neighboring Indians; and believing that he could be of greater service in repelling the savage invaders than in pursuing his studies, he accepted an ensign's commission from President Washington, and joined the army. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1792, and his skill and bravery were highly commended by General Wayne, under whose command he was engaged in several actions. After the bloody battle of Miami Rapids, he was rewarded with the rank of captain, and immediately placed in command of Fort Washington. In 1797 he resigned his commission, for the purpose of accepting the office of secretary of the North-west Territory, from which he was elected a delegate to Congress in 1799.

When a territorial government was formed for Indiana, he was appointed the first governor, and continued in that office till 1813. To his civil and military duties he added those of commissioner and superintendent of Indian affairs; and, in the course of his administration, he concluded thirteen important treaties with the different tribes. On the 7th of November, 1811, he gained the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, the news of which was received throughout the country with a burst of enthusiasm. During the war of 1812 he was made commander of the north-western army of the United States, and he bore a conspicuous part in the leading events in the campaign of 1812–13, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the victory of the Thames. In 1814, he was appointed, in conjunction with his companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians in the north-west, at Greenville; and, in the following year, he was placed at the head of a commission to treat with various other important tribes.

In 1816, he was elected a member of Congress from Ohio; and, in 1828, he was sent minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia. On his return, he took up his residence at North Bend, on the Ohio, where he lived upon his farm, in comparative retirement, till 1837, when he became a candidate for the Presidency; and although defeated on the first trial, four years afterwards he was elected by a large majority, and inaugurated in 1841. But he did not long survive this crowning honor, as he died on the 4th of April, just one month after entering upon his duties. His funeral obsequies were performed on the 7th, and an immense concourse assembled to pay their testimony of respect. Funeral services and processions also took place in most of the principal cities throughout the country. As General Harrison was the first President who died while in office, his successor Mr. Tyler, recommended that the 14th of May be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and accordingly it was so observed.

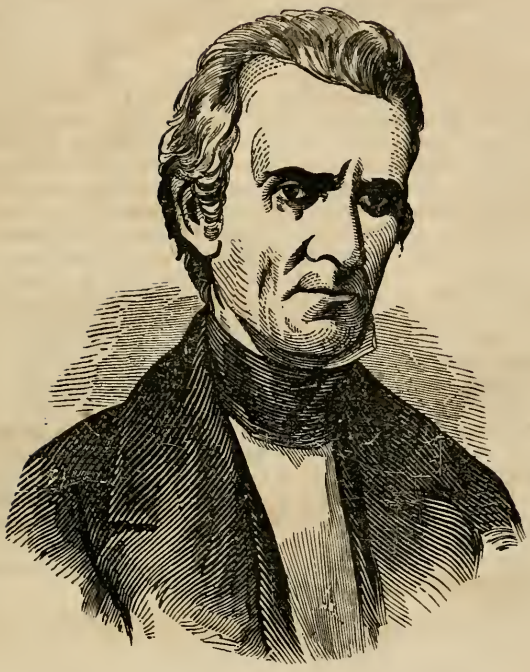


JOHN TYLER,

THE SUCCESSOR OF GEN. HARRISON AS PRESIDENT,

Was born at Williamsburg, Va., March 29, 1790, and at the age of twelve years entered William and Mary's college, where he graduated with distinguished merit five years afterwards. Few have commenced life at so early a period as Mr. Tyler—he having been admitted to the bar when only nineteen, and elected to the Virginia legislature before attaining his twenty-second year. In 1816 he was sent to Congress; in 1825, elected Governor of Virginia, and in 1827 became United States senator; in which capacity he firmly supported the administration of General Jackson—voting against the tariff bill of 1828, and against re-chartering the United States Bank. Notwith-

standing this last vote, the friends of the bank, presuming upon his well-known conservatism, at the special session of Congress called by his predecessor, introduced a bill for the establishment of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States," which passed both houses by small majorities, and which Mr. Tyler felt bound to veto. But this did not dishearten the friends of the measure, who modified and rechristened their financial plan, which, under the name of "Fiscal Corporation of the United States," again passed both houses of Congress, and was again vetoed by the President. Of course, a large portion of the party that elected him were greatly dissatisfied with his course, and their denunciations of his alleged faithlessness were "loud and deep." To add to the embarrassments which were accumulating around him, the members of his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned their places; but even this implied rebuke did not shake his integrity of purpose. An equally efficient phalanx of talent was called to his aid, and he had the satisfaction of seeing that his views were endorsed by a large number of leading statesmen. It has been often asserted that Mr. T. had pledged himself to sustain the financial schemes of the bank and its friends; but this has always been denied, and circumstances certainly warrant the conclusion that the assertion is unfounded. So gross and bitter were the assaults made upon him, that he felt called upon to defend himself from their violence; and, after declaring his determination to do his duty, regardless of party ties, he said: "I appeal from the vituperation of the present day to the pen of impartial History, in confidence that neither my motives nor my acts will bear the interpretation which, for sinister motives, has been placed upon them." On the expiration of his official term, he retired to his estate at Williamsburg, where he still continues to reside, secure in the respect of a large circle of friends, and far aloof from the troublous vortex of political life.



JAMES KNOX POLK,

THE TENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Was born at Mecklenburg, N. C., November 2, 1795, and there received the rudiments of his early education. In 1806 his father removed to Nashville, Tenn., taking his family with him, and here it was that Mr. Polk pursued those preliminary studies which were requisite to qualify him for the legal profession. After due preparation, he entered the office of the Hon. Felix Grundy, under whose able instruction he made such rapid progress, that he was admitted to practice in 1820. His duties at the bar did not prevent him from taking part in the political affairs of the day; and in this sphere his

comprehensive views and zealous devotion to democracy soon secured him a widely-extended popularity, which resulted in his election to the legislature of Tennessse in 1823. In 1825, while yet in his thirtieth year, he was chosen a member of Congress, in which body he remained fourteen years—being honored with the Speakership for several sessions. So well satisfied were his constituents with his congressional course, that he was elected Governor by a large majority, but some questions of local policy subsequently defeated his re-election. In 1844 he was unexpectedly nominated for the office of President of the United States by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore; and, having received sixty-five electoral votes more than his rival candidate, Mr. Clay, he was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845.

Soon after Mr. Polk assumed the reins of government, the country became involved in a war with Mexico, which was little more than a series of victories wherever the American banner was displayed, and which resulted in important territorial acquisitions. The ostensible ground for this war, on the part of Mexico, was the admission of Texas into the Union, which was one of the first acts of Mr. Polk's administration. The Mexicans, however, paid dearly for asserting their frivolous claims to Texas as a revolted province, and the prompt and energetic course pursued by Mr. Polk was sanctioned and sustained by a large majority of the people.

But notwithstanding the advantageous issue of the war, the acquisition of Texas, and the satisfactory settlement of several vexed questions of long standing, Mr. Polk was not nominated for a second term—various extraneous matters leading to the selection of another candidate. Perhaps it was fortunate for the country and for himself that he was permitted to retire to the more congenial enjoyment of private life; for his health had become very much impaired, and he did not long survive after reaching his home in Nashville. He died June 15, 1849.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

THE ELEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange county, Va., November 24, 1790, and, after receiving an indifferent education, passed a considerable portion of his boyhood amid the stirring scenes which were being enacted at that time on our western border. In 1808 he was appointed a lieutenant

in the United States infantry, and subsequently was promoted to a captaincy for his efficient services against the Indians. Soon after the declaration of war in 1812 he was placed in command of Fort Harrison, which he so gallantly defended with a handful of men against the attack of a large body of savages, as to win the brevet rank of major. So familiar did he become with the Indian character, and with the mode of warfare of that wily foe, that his services at the West and South were deemed indispensable in the subjugation and removal of several hostile tribes. While effecting these desirable objects, he was occasionally rewarded for his toils and sacrifices by gradual promotion, and in 1840 attained the rank of brigadier-general. At the commencement of the troubles with Mexico, in 1845, he was ordered to occupy a position on the American side of the Rio Grande, but not to cross that river unless attacked by the Mexicans. He was not, however, allowed to remain long in repose: the enemy, by attacking Fort Brown, which he had built on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, soon afforded him an opportunity to display his skill and valor, and gloriously did he improve it. The brilliant battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, where he contended successfully against fearful odds, were precursors to a series of victories which have few parallels in military annals. The attack on Matamoras, the storming of Monterey, the sanguinary contest at Buena Vista, and the numerous skirmishes in which he was engaged, excited universal admiration; and on his return home, after so signally aiding to "conquer a peace" with Mexico, he was everywhere received with the most gratifying demonstrations of respect and affection. In 1848 General Taylor received the nomination of the whig party for the office of President of the United States, and, being elected, was inaugurated the year following. But the cares and responsibilities of this position were greater than his constitution could endure, hardened as it had been both in Indian and civilized warfare. After the lapse of little more than a year from the time he entered upon his new career, he sunk under its complicated trials, and his noble spirit sought refuge in a more congenial sphere, July 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE,

THE SUCCESSOR OF GEN. TAYLOR, AS PRESIDENT,

Was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga county, N.Y., January 7, 1800, and did not enjoy the advantages of any other education than what he derived from the then inefficient common schools of the county. At an early age he was sent into the wilds of Livingston county to learn a trade, and here he soon attracted the attention of a friend, who placed him in a lawyer's office—thus opening a new, and what was destined to be a most honorable and distinguished career. In 1827 he was admitted as an attorney, and two years afterwards as counsellor in the Supreme Court Soon attracting attention, he

established himself at Buffalo, where his talents and business habits secured him an extended practice.

His first entrance into public life was in January, 1829, when he took his seat as a member of the Assembly from Erie county. At this time he distinguished himself for his untiring opposition to imprisonment for debt, and to this are the people indebted in a great degree for the expunging of this relic of barbarism from the statute book. Having gained a high reputation for legislative capacity, in 1833 he was elected a member of the national House of Representatives; and on the assembling of the Twenty-seventh Congress, to which he was re-elected by a larger majority than was ever given to any person in his district, he was placed in the arduous position of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The measures he brought forward and sustained with matchless ability, speedily relieved the government from its existing pecuniary embarrassments. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the state of New York by a larger majority than had been given to any state office for many years. In 1848 he was selected as candidate for Vice-President, General Taylor heading the ticket. On his election to that high office, he resigned his position as Comptroller, and entered upon his duties as President of the United States Senate. The courtesy, ability, and dignity exhibited by him, while presiding over the deliberations of that body, received general commendation. Upon the sudden death of General Taylor, he became President, and promptly selected a cabinet, distinguished for its ability, patriotism, and devotion to the Union, and possessing in an eminent degree the confidence of the country.

After serving out the constitutional term, Mr. Fillmore returned to Buffalo, and again resumed those pursuits which had prepared the way to the elevated position from which he had just retired. He was welcomed home by troops of friends, with whom he still continues to enjoy an unabated popularity.

It should be borne in mind by every aspiring young man, that Mr. Fillmore is entirely indebted to his own exertions for his success in life. From a very humble origin, he attained the highest office in the world, climbing the rugged steep of fame step by step, with indefatigable industry and untiring perseverance, until he at length gained the summit, where he is long likely to enjoy his well-earned position.

FRANKLIN PIERCE,

THE TWELFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23, 1804, and early received the advantage of a liberal education. After going through a regular collegiate course at Bowdoin college, which he entered at the age of sixteen, he became a law student in the office of Judge Woodbury at Portsmouth, whence he was transferred to the law school at

Northampton, where he remained two years, and then finished his studies with Judge Parker at Amherst. Although his rise at the bar was not rapid, by degrees he attained the highest rank as a lawyer and advocate.

In 1829 he was elected to represent his native town in the state legislature, where he served four years, during the two last of which he held the speakership, and discharged the duties with universal satisfaction.

From 1833 to 1837 he represented his state in Congress, and was then elected to the United States Senate, having barely reached the requisite age to qualify him for a seat in that body.

In 1834 he married Miss Jane Means, daughter of the Rev. Dr Appleton, formerly President of Bowdoin college—soon after which he removed to Concord, where he still holds a residence. He was re-elected at the expiration of his senatorial term, but resigned his seat the year following, for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to his legal business, which had become so extensive as to require all his attention.

In 1846 he declined the office of Attorney-General, tendered to him by President Polk; but when the war with Mexico broke out, he was active in raising the New England regiment of volunteers; and afterwards accepted the commission of brigadier-general, with which he at once repaired to the field of operations, where he distinguished himself in several hard-fought battles. At Cerro-Gordo and at Chapultapec he displayed an ardor in his country's cause which extorted praise from his most inveterate political opponents; and on his return home he was everywhere received with gratifying evidences that his services were held in grateful remembrance by the people.

At the Democratic Convention held in Baltimore in 1852, after trying in vain to concentrate their votes on a more prominent candidate, that body unexpectedly nominated General Pierce for the office of President of the United States, to which he was elected by an unprecedented majority over his rival, General Scott—receiving 254 votes out of 296. He was duly inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1853, and his administration has been more remarkable for its futile attempts to reconcile conflicting interests, than for the achievement of any particular measure of great public utility. However, it will better become his future than his present biographer to "speak of him as he is; nor aught extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

JAMES BUCHANAN,

THIRTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

For the high position he has so long maintained in the political affairs of this country, Mr. Buchanan is not alone indebted to his early and thorough education, but his entire devotion to whatever he undertakes, and his perseverance in surmounting obstacles which would

intimidate less determined minds, has had a large share in promoting his advancement. He is of Irish parentage, and was born at Stony Batter, Franklin county, Pa., April 23, 1791. At the age of seven years he removed with his father's family to Mercersburg, and there received an education that fitted him for entering Dickinson college in 1805, where he graduated two years afterwards with the highest honors. He then studied law with James Hopkins, of Lancaster, and in 1812 was admitted to the bar, at which he attained a high rank and commanded an extensive practice.

In 1814 he commenced political life as a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, and in 1820 was sent as representative to Congress, where he remained for ten years—at the expiration of which, he declined a re-nomination.

In 1831 he was appointed minister to Russia by President Jackson, of whom he was always the consistent friend and supporter, and he negotiated a commercial treaty which proved of great advantage to American commerce.

In December, 1834, having been elected to the United States Senate, he took his seat in that body, and continued one of its most efficient members until 1845, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State under Mr. Polk. He held this responsible place until the expiration of Mr. Polk's term of service, when he returned home to repose awhile. But he did not by any means become an idle spectator in passing events : his letters and speeches show that he was no less vigilant as a private citizen, than as a counsellor in the Cabinet, or a representative and senator in Congress.

On the accession of Mr. Pierce to the Presidency, in 1853, Mr Buchanan was appointed minister to England, with which country questions were then pending that required great prudence and discrimination for their satisfactory adjustment. In his intercourse with the British diplomatists he was not only discreet, but displayed sound sense, courtly forbearance, a just assertion of our rights, and the true dignity of the American character. So entirely unexceptionable was his whole course while abroad, that on his return to this country last April—he landed in New York on the sixty-fifth anniversary of his birth-day—he was received with an almost universal enthusiasm, seldom accorded to political men.

In June, 1856, Mr. Buchanan was nominated by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati as a candidate for the Presidency; and although there were powerful political elements arrayed against him in the succeeding campaign. he was triumphantly elected to that responsible and honorable office.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY.

I. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being who rules the universe, for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence and the union of these states.

II. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

III. *Americans must rule America*, and to this end, *native*-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal or municipal offices or government employment, in preference to naturalized citizens—*nevertheless*,

IV. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, shall be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

V. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognises any alliance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, who refuses to recognise the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere), as paramount to all other laws, as rules of particular action.

VI. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several states, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between the citizens of the several states, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each state with the affairs of any other state.

VII. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress. *Provided always*, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said territory or state.

VIII. An enforcement of the principle that no state or territory can admit others than native-born citizens to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office, unless such persons shall have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States.

IX. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing on our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

X. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with the religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office, except those indicated in the 5th section of this platform.

XI. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

XII. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

XIII. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and consevatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the removal of Judge Bronson from the Collectorship of New York upon false and untenable grounds; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the governments; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

XIV. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated, eschewing all sectional questions, and uniting upon those purely national, and admitting into said party all American citizens (referred to in the 3d, 4th, and 5th sections) who openly avow the principles and opinions heretofore expressed, and who will subscribe their names to this platform.—*Provided, nevertheless,* that a majority of those members present at any meeting of a local council where an applicant applies for membership in the American party, may, for any reason by them deemed sufficient, deny admission to such applicant.

XV. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

At the Democratic Convention held in Cincinnati in June last, the Committee on Resolutions submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted as the Democratic Platform:

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will, and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when on former occasions, in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for popular suffrages.

I. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

II. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

III. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other state purposes, nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

IV. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

V. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

VI. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

VII. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility, in all business pursuits.

VIII. That the separation of the monies of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

IX. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

X. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

And Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define it relations thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of states having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth: no

party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of Domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the states:

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature, in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation now relies, to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union:

1. *Resolved*. That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-oper

ation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the territories; and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognise and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which its great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and to the admission of new states, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to the utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognise the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilites against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land,) a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every state, and thereby the Union of the states; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacities of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to

declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the states most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by a spirit of modern times, and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the states within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstance, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Inter-oceanic Isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection in the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys, and of the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognises the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the federal government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association, or individuals, to give legal assistance to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established in order to establish a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them—their territory has been invaded by an armed force—spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced—the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed—test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office—the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied—the right of the people to be secure in their houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated—they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law—that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged—the right to choose their repre

sentatives has been made of no effect—murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished—that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyments of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however different from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens who oppose all legislation impairing their security.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Consists of a Senate and House of Representatives, and must assemble at least once every year, on the first Monday of December, unless otherwise provided by law.

The Vice-President of the United States is *ex officio* President of the Senate, and has a casting vote in case of an equal division. In his absence, a President *pro tem.* is chosen from among the members.

The Senate comprises two members from each state, (now numbering of course 62,) who are chosen by the state legislatures for the term of six years—one-third biennially.

The members of the House of Representatives (limited by law to the number of 233) are elected by the people for the term of two years, and are apportioned among the different states, according to population, in the following manner: After each decennial enumeration, the aggregate representative population of the United States is ascertained by the Secretary of the Interior, by adding to the whole number of free persons in all the states, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. This aggregate is divided by 233, and the quotient, rejecting fractions, if any, is the rates of apportionment. The representative population of each state is then ascertained in the same manner, and is divided by the above-named ratio, the quotient giving the apportionment of representatives to each state. The loss by fractions is compensated for by assigning to as many states having the largest fractions as may be necessary to make the whole number of representatives 233, one additional member each for its fraction. If, after the apportionment, new states are admitted, representatives are assigned to such states on the above basis, in addition to the limited number of 233; but such excess continues only until the next apportionment under the succeeding census. When the apportionment is completed, the Secretary sends a certificate thereof to the House of Representatives, and to the Governors of the states a certificate of the number apportioned to each state.

The present number of representatives is 234, an additional one being assigned to California by the act of July 30, 1852. There are, besides, seven delegates—one each from Oregon, Minnesota, Utah, New Mexico, Washington, Kansas, and Nebraska—who have a right to speak, but no vote.

Since the 4th of March, 1817, the compensation of senators and representatives has been $8 a-day duringthe period of attendance in Congress, without deduction in case of sickness; and $8 for every twenty miles' travel, in the usual road, in going to or returning from the seat of government. The President of the Senate, *pro tem.* and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, each receive double this sum. At the first session of the Thirty-Fourth Congress, however, an act was passed, fixing the pay of members at $3,000 per annum, but the rates of mileage were left undisturbed.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

IN

AMERICAN HISTORY,

EMBRACING A PERIOD OF 250 YEARS, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY TO THE PRESENT TIME—ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

1606. A charter granted to a company in England for the settlement of Virginia, and a colony dispatched, who landed at Jamestown, and chose Edward Wingfield ruler.

1607. Soon after their arrival, Captain John Smith and others visited the native chief, Powhatan, at his principal residence, near the present site of Richmond.—Wingfield was deposed, and Smith appointed in his place; but he was soon after captured by the Indians, and detained among them for some time. He was about to be slain by the savages, when Pocahontas, a favorite daughter of Powhatan's, rushed between him and the clubs of his enemies, and finally saved his life.

1608. When Smith returned, he found the colonists in a very bad condition; after alleviating it as far as practicable, he explored the Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers.

1609. A new charter granted to the London Company enlarging their limits, &c., and Lord De la War appointed Governor for life.

1610. In consequence of being injured by an explosion of powder, Capt. Smith returned to England, delagating his authority to George Percy.—Lord De la War arrived just as the colonist were about leaving for England, after having greatly suffered from disease and famine—A few Dutch traders settled in New Amsterdam, now New York City.

1611. Under the new governor, order and contentment were again restored; but his health rapidly failing, he returned home, and Percy again administered the government until the arrival of Sir Thomas Daly, by whom he was superseded.

1612. The king granted the London Company another new charter, making important changes in the powers of the corporation, but not affecting the political rights of the colonists.

1613. John Rolfe, a young English officer, married Pocahontas, an event which had a beneficial influence on the relations of the colonists and Indians.

1614-16. Gov. Dale returned to England, after appointing George Yeardley in his place. The culture of tobacco was introduced, and soon became, not only the principal article of export, but even the currency of the colony. The Dutch began a settlement in Albany, N. Y.

1617. Yeardley was displaced for a short time by Argall, who ruled with such tyranny and injustice as led to the reinstatement of the former.

1619. The first colonial assembly ever convened in America was held at Jamestown.

1620. In August, a Dutch man-of-war landed twenty negroes for sale at Jamestown, which was the commencement of negro slavery in the colonies.—Ninety

young women of respectable character were sent from England as wives for the colonists, the prices for whom were fixed at from 120 to 150 pounds of tobacco.—Dec. 21, a body of Puritans, dissenters from the Church of England, landed at Plymouth, and commenced the settlement of New England.

1621. The London Company granted to the Virginia colony a written constitution.—A treaty of friendship was concluded between the Puritans and the principal chief of the Massachusetts tribe (Massasoit), and similar treaties concluded with other chiefs.

1622. April 1st, 347 men, women and children of the Virginia colony were savagely butchered by treacherous Indians; but Jamestown and the neighboring settlements were saved by the plot being revealed, the evening before its intended consummation, by a friendly Indian, thus putting the inhabitants on their guard.

1623. Miles Standish saves the settlement of Weymouth, Mass., from destruction by the Indians, and kills their chief.—First settlement formed at Dover, New Hampshire.

1624. The London Company was dissolved, and King James assumed the government of the Virginia colony.—New Jersey settled by the Dutch.

1627. Delaware settled by Swedes and Danes.

1635. Maryland settled by Irish Catholics, and Connecticut settled by a branch of Puritans from Massachusetts.

1636. Rhode Island settled by Roger Williams, who was banished for his liberal religious sentiments by the Puritans of Massachusetts.

1637. The magistrates of the three infant towns of Connecticut—Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield—formally declared war against the Pequod Indians.

1643. The colonies of Masachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven, form themselves into one confederacy, by the name of "United Colonies of New England."

1644. Another Indian massacre in Virginia, followed by a border warfare, which continued about two years.

1648. An individual accused of witchcraft was executed at Charlestown, and for several years after (until 1793) numerous others suffered imprisonment and death for the like alleged crime.

1650. North Carolina settled by the English.

1656. First arrival of Quakers in Massachusetts, who were sent back to England in the vessels in which they came, and the four united colonies concurred in a law prohibiting their introduction; notwithstanding all which, they continued to arrive.

1658. By advice of commissioners of the four colonies, the legislature of Massachusetts denounced the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment.

1660. Sir William Berkely elected Governor by the people of Virginia, but he afterwards disclaimed the authority to which he owed his elevation, and issued writs for an assembly in the name of King Charles II.

1661. Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges who had condemned Charles I. to death, arrived at Boston, and were kindly received by the people. Messengers were sent to arrest them, but they were concealed and ended their days in New England.

1663. North Carolina settled by colonists from Virginia, near the village of Edenton.

1664. An English force, sent to take possession of the whole territory from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware, captured "New Amsterdam" from the Dutch, and changed its name to "New York."

1670. South Carolina settled by the Huguenots.

1673. The Virginians remonstrated against the unjust taxation on their commercial business, but obtained no redress.—The Episcopal Church became the religion of the State. A war having broke out between England and Holland, the Dutch reconquered New York, but it was again surrendered to the English the year following.

1675. The war with the Wampanoags and other tribes, commonly called "King Philip's War," commenced, and was marked by much barbarity.

1676. King Philip was shot by a faithless Indian of his own tribe, but this did not end the war, which was continued till 1678, when a treaty of peace was concluded.—The people of Virginia, led by Nathaniel Bacon, took up arms in defence of their rights.

1677. Massachusetts purchased the province of Maine from the heirs of Gorges.

1680. New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts by a royal commission, and made a royal province; but the first law adopted by the legislature, which soon after met at Portsmouth, declared "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the President and Council."

1682. Pennsylvania settled by Wm. Penn, who founded Philadelphia the year following.

1686. The charter government of Massachusetts was revoked, and the King appointed a President over the country from Narragansett to Nova Scotia.

1687. Governor Andros attempted to reclaim the charter granted to Connecticut, but it was secretly taken from the assembly chamber at Hartford by Capt Wadsworth while the subject was under discussion, and hidden in a hollow tree, since celebrated as the Charter Oak, which was an object of curiosity until 1856, when it was blown down.

1689. "King William's War" with France began, and was continued till 1697, during which all the English colonies suffered by ravages of the French and Indians.

1690. The people of New Hampshire took the government into their own hands, and placed themselves under the protection of Massachusetts.—The conquest of Canada was undertaken by the people of New England and New York acting in concert. An armament, under Sir William Phipps, made an unsuccessful demonstration against Quebec, and then returned to Boston. The first emission of bills of credit in the colonies was made by Massachusetts to defray the expenses of this expedition.

1701. "Queen Anne's War," waged against France and Spain, was commenced this year, and only terminated in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht.

1733. Georgia settled by Gen. Oglethorpe, who landed at Savannah with about 120 emigrants, and began building the town.

1741. A supposed negro plot occasioned great excitement in the city of New York, and between 30 and 40 persons were executed before it subsided.—The provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were separated.

1744. "King George's War," which originated in European disputes relative to Austria, again gave the French and Indians many opportunities of harassing the colonists. The most important event of the war in America was the siege and capture of Louisburg, which was restored to France in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1754. "The French and Indian War," arising from disputed claims to American territory by the English and French, again plunged the colonies in difficulties, and materially injured their prosperity, until 1763, when peace was concluded.

1759. Quebec surrendered to the English forces under Gen. Wolfe, who was

killed on the battle field, and all the other French posts in Canada were captured soon after.

1764. A resolution imposing certain stamp duties on the colonies was adopted by the House of Commons, but it did not become a law till next year.

1765. A general indignation spread through the colonies when it was known that the "Stamp Act" had passed. At Boston and Philadelphia the bells were muffled, and rung a funeral peal; and at New York the Act was carried through the streets, with a death's-head affixed to it, and styled "The folly of England and the ruin of America." The stamps themselves, in many places, were seized and destroyed, and the doctrine that England had no right to tax America was boldly avowed.—THE FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS met in New York, nine colonies being represented, and agreed on a "Declaration of Rights," and other energetic measures

1766. The Stamp Act was repealed, through the exertions of Mr. Pitt.

1767. Parliament passed a bill imposing a duty on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, which occasioned as much excitement as the Stamp Act, and the colonial assemblies adopted spirited resolutions for resisting its operation.

1768. A vessel was seized by the custom house officers in Boston for violating some of the odious commercial restrictions, but the people compelled them to abandon their prize, and seek refuge in Castle William.

1770. In March, an affray occurred in Boston between some citizens and the soldiery stationed there, which produced a great sensation throughout America.—Parliament passed a bill repealing all duties imposed by the act of 1767, except that on tea, which they allowed the British East India Company to export to America, free from the duties which they had before paid in England.

1773. The ports of New York and Philadelphia were closed against vessels having cargoes of tea, and they were compelled to return to England. At Boston, a party of men, disguised as Indians, boarded several vessels, and broke open 342 chests of tea, which they emptied into the harbor in the presence of thousands of spectators.

1774. Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill, which forbade the landing and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at Boston. The provincial assembly resolved that "the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceeded all their powers of expression."

1775. An oppressive bill was passed by Parliament, restricting the commerce of all the provinces, except New York and North Carolina. The inhabitants of Massachusetts were declared rebels, and 10,000 troops were ordered to America, to aid in reducing the rebellious colonies.—April 19. The first blood in the cause of Independence was shed at Lexington, about ten miles from Boston, where a party of militia intercepted a division of English soldiers on their way to Concord for the purpose of destroying some military stores which the people had collected there. At Concord, a smart skirmish took place, and the British made a hasty retreat, after partially accomplishing their object.—May 10. The Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, and, after electing John Hancock president of the body, among other important measures, voted to raise an army of 20 000 men.—June 17. A sanguinary battle took place on Breed's Hill, (generally now regarded as Bunker Hill,) in which the British were severely cut up, but they finally gained possession of the hill, the Americans retiring across Charlestown Neck with inconsiderable loss.—July 12. Washington, having been appointed commander in-chief, arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon his duties.—Georgia joined the confederation; after which, the style of the "Thirteen United Colonies" was adopted.—An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Americans for the conquest of Canada, in which Gen. Montgomery was killed during an assault on Quebec (Dec. 31), and a portion of his troops were taken prisoners.

1776. March 4. Gen. Washington gained possession of Dorchester Heights, and

the British left Boston on the 17th.—June 18. Canada evacuated by the Americans.—July 4. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, was proclaimed, and hailed with great rejoicings.—August 27. Battle of Long Island, in which the Americans were defeated, but Washington made an admirable retreat to New York on the 29th, and thence across Jersey to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session.—Dec. 12. Congress adjourned to Baltimore, and soon after invested Washington with almost unlimited powers.—Dec. 26. Washington having amid great perils recrossed the Delaware on the previous night, surprised and captured a large body of Hessians at Trenton, and returned to Pennsylvania, with his prisoners.—Dec. 28. Washington took post at Trenton.

1777. Jan. 3. Finding himself nearly surrounded by a force far superior to his own, Washington kindled his camp-fires as usual to deceive the enemy, and then by a circuitous route rapidly advanced upon Princeton, where he gained another important victory.—In the spring, the Marquis de la Fayette arrived in America from France, having fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and enlisted as a volunteer in the army of Washington, declining all pay for his services; but Congress, which had returned to Philadelphia, soon after appointed him a Major-General.—May 6. Gen. Burgoyne, with a powerful force, designed to invade the States by the way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, arrived at Quebec; and on the 16th of June he left St. Johns for Crown Point, where he established magazines.—June 30. The British army, under General Howe, passed over to Staten Island, leaving Washington in possession of New Jersey.—July 5. Gen. St. Clair abandoned Ticonderoga, retreating before Burgoyne's forces, with whom he had a severe skirmish at Hubbardton, and finally succeeded in joining Gen. Schuyler on the Hudson, having lost 200 pieces of artillery and a large quantity of stores.—July 10. Col. Barton, with about forty militia, seized the Commander of the English forces in Rhode Island, (Major-General Prescott,) while in bed, and conducted him safely through his own troops and fleet back to the mainland. This heroic exploit not only cheered the American army, but secured an officer of equal rank to exchange for Gen. Lee.—August 16. Battle of Bennington, in which the Americans, led by Colonel Stark, obtained an important victory over Colonel Baum, who had been sent by General Burgoyne to seize some stores at that place.—Sept. 11. Battle of the Brandywine, in which Count Pulaski, a brave Polander, who had magnanimously joined the Americans, distinguished himself, and was soon after promoted to the rank of brigadier, with the command of the cavalry. Gen. Lafayette was severely wounded while endeavoring to rally the fugitives.—Sept. 13. Burgoyne crossed the Hudson with his whole army, and took a position on the heights and plains of Saratoga.—Sept. 26. The British army, under Gen. Howe, entered Philadelphia without further opposition, Congress having previously adjourned to Lancaster.—Oct. 4. Washington attacked a large British force at Germantown, and was repulsed, with the loss of 1,200 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.—Oct. 17. Burgoyne, finding himself surrounded, and despairing of relief, surrendered his army to Gen. Gates, who had recently been appointed to the command of the Northern division, whereby the Americans acquired a fine train of brass artillery, 5,000 muskets, and immense quantities of other munitions of war.—Oct. 22. A plan of confederation was adopted by Congress, which, however, amounted to little more than a league of friendship between the states.—Dec. 11. Washington retired into winter-quarters at Valley Forge.

1778. In February, Parliament passed two bills, virtually conceding all that had been the cause of controversy, and sent commissioners to adjust existing differences; they attempted to gain their objects by private intrigue and bribery, which coming to the knowledge of Congress, that body declared it incompatible with their honor to hold any intercourse with them.—Feb. 6. France acknowledged the independence of America, and concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce.—June 18. The British army evacuated Philadel

phia, and retreated to New York, followed cautiously by Washington with the main body of his army.—June 28. Battle of Monmouth, in which the British were signally defeated with great loss, and retreated to Sandy Hook, whence they were taken to New York by their fleet.—July 3 Wyoming was attacked by a large body of British, tories, and Indians, who, after the place had been surrendered, perpetrated the most inhuman atrocities: men, women, and children were shut up in the houses and barracks, and consumed in one general conflagration.—Dec. 29. An English army of 2,000 men landed near Savannah, then defended by only 600 troops, and, after a severe battle, took possession of the city, the Americans retreating.

779. May 11. Gen. Provost, with a large British force, having invested Charleston, summoned the city to surrender; but the approach of Gen. Lincoln, who had been appointed to the command of the southern army, compelled him to retreat.—July 5. Gen. Tryon made another descent on Connecticut, and plundered and burned the towns of New Haven, East Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk.—July 16. Stony Point, which had been previously taken by the enemy, was gallantly recaptured by Gen. Wayne, the British losing upwards of 600 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.—Sept. 23. One of the most bloody battles on record was fought on the coast of Scotland between the American frigate Bon Homme Richard, Captain Paul Jones, and two British frigates, the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, which resulted in a victory for the Richard, which was so cut up, that she soon after sunk. Of a crew of 375, 300 were either killed or wounded.— Oct. 9. After a month's siege, a combined attack of the French and Americans, under Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln, was made on Savannah, but it proved unsuccessful, and Gen. Lincoln retired into S. Carolina, while Count D'Estaing withdrew his fleet from the American coast. Count Pulaski was mortally wounded during the battle, and a monument has since been erected to his memory on the spot where he fell.

1780. During the most of this year, military operations were confined to the Carolinas.—April 9. Admiral Arbuthnot, with a powerful fleet, which had transported Sir Henry Clinton with the bulk of his forces from New York to the South, anchored in Charleston harbor, and summoned the city to surrender. This was rejected, and Gen. Lincoln and his troops made a gallant defence, until May 12, when, most of the fortifications having been beaten down, and the enemy being about to make an assault, a compliance was unavoidable, and the royal government was again established in South Carolina.—May 12. Charleston surrendered after more than a month's siege.—July 10. A French squadron, under Admiral de Ternay, arrived at Newport, having on board 6,000 men, commanded by Count de Rochambeau.—August 16. Gen. Gates, who was advancing with a considerable force for the relief of the South, encountered the British, under Lords Rawdon and Cornwallis, near Camden, S. C., and after a desperate engagement, was compelled to draw off, with the loss of 1,000 men, and all his artillery, ammunition wagons, and most of his baggage. Baron de Kalb, second in command, was mortally wounded, dying on the 19th.—Sept. 23. Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, was arrested near Tarrytown, N.Y., by three militiamen, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert. He was returning from a visit to Gen. Arnold, then in command of West Point, with whom he had successfully negotiated for the surrender of that post. He was soon after tried, convicted, and executed as a spy, while the traitor Arnold unfortunately escaped. Being allowed to write to Arnold, that officer of course found that his treason was discovered, and precipitately fled on board the sloop-of-war Vulture, then lying in the Hudson.

1781. The traitor Arnold, as one of the rewards of his crime, was made a brigadier in the British service, and early in January he made a descent upon Virginia, ravaging the coasts, and plundering and destroying public and private property to a vast amount.—Jan. 17. The English cavalry, under Col.

Tarleton, were severely beaten at the Battle of Cowpens by the Americans, under Gen. Morgan, and lost 300 in killed and wounded, 500 prisoners, 100 horses, and a large quantity of baggage. Morgan's loss was 12 men killed and 60 wounded.—Jan. 31. Gen. Greene, who had been appointed to supersede Gen. Gates in the South, arrived at Cheraw, and took command of Morgan's division.—March 15. Gen. Greene encountered the army of Lord Cornwallis at Guilford Court House; but neither party gained a decided advantage, and Greene withdrew into South Carolina, encamping on Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from Camden, where Lord Rawdon was then posted —April 25. Lord Rawdon made an attack on Hobkirk's Hill, but with so little success, that he soon after evacuated Camden, and retired beyond the Santee River.—Oct. 8. The Americans and British, under Gen. Greene and Col. Stewart, met at Eutaw Springs, and a sanguinary conflict, of nearly four hours, ensued; when Greene drew off his troops, and Stewart retired to Monk's Corner.—Sept. 6. The traitor Arnold villanously, burned New London, and destroyed much private and public property indiscriminately.—Sept. 30. The combined American and French army, under Washington and Rochambeau, suddenly appeared before Yorktown, where Cornwallis had concentrated his forces, and immediately commenced the construction of batteries and other works for the effectual siege of that place. A French fleet, commanded by Count de Grasse, had previously entered the Chesapeake, and, by blocking up James and York rivers, prevented the enemy's escape by sea.—Oct. 19. Finding retreat impossible, and resistance vain, Cornwallis surrendered the post, and thus 7,000 troops and the shipping in the harbor were secured to the victors, and the revolutionary struggle virtually ended.—Dec. 12. A resolution passed the British House of Commons that those who should advise the king to continue the war in America, should be declared enemies of the sovereign and of the country.

1782. The independence of America was acknowledged by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Russia.—Early in May, Sir Guy Carleton, successor of Sir Henry Clinton as commander of all the forces in America, arrived in New York, with instructions to promote an accommodation with the United States, and of course there were no subsequent military operations of importance.—Nov. 30. Preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris by Mr. Oswald, commisisoner on the part of Great Britain, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States.

1783. April 19. On the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American army.—Sept. 3. Definitive treaties of peace were signed by the commissioners of England with those of the United States, France, Spain, and Holland.—Nov. 25. New York was evacuated by the British troops.—Dec. 4. Washington took leave of the army, and the soldiers of the Revolution returned peaceably to their homes. —Dec. 23. Washington resigned his commission into the hands of Congress, then sitting at Annapolis, Md., and retired to private life.

Events subsequent to Independence.

1784. Nov. 1. Congress convened at Trenton, N. J., but transacted little business of permanent importance.

1785. June 2. John Adams, first minister from the United States to Great Britain, had his first audience with the king.

1786. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

1787. Sept. 17. The Constitution of the United States was adopted at Philadelphia.—Daniel Shay and his party dispersed by Gen Lincoln.

1788. Eleven States ratified the Constitution.—Election for President of the U States.

1789. March 4. Congress assembled at New York, but did not organize till April 6.—April 30. George Washington was sworn into office as the first President, and John Adams as the first Vice-President of the U. States.

790. In May, Rhode Island acceded to the Constitution.—Sept. 30. Gen. Harmer defeated by the Indians near Chilicothe.—The first census completed, showing—population, 3,921,326 revenue, $4,771,000 ; exports, $19,000,000 ; imports, $20,000,000.

791. Vermont, having acceded to the Constitution, was admitted into the Union.—The first U. S. Bank was chartered by Congress, but not without powerful opposition.

1792. The Mint was established.—Kentucky admitted into the Union.

1793. April 22. President Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality in regard to the affairs of France, which were beginning to affect American politics.—Washington and Adams were re-elected.

1794. Aug. 20. Gen. Wayne obtained so decisive a victory over the hostile Indians, as to produce a salutary effect upon all the tribes north-west of the Ohio.

1795. Treaties were concluded with Spain and Algiers.

1796. Sept. 17. Washington signified his intention to retire from public life, and published his Farewell Address.—Tennessee was admitted into the Union.

1797. March 4. John Adams was inaugurated as President, and Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President.

1798. Congress again elected Gen. Washington commander-in-chief of the army

1799. Dec. 14. Gen. Washington died at Mount Vernon, after a very short illness.

1800. The seat of government was transferred to Washington City.—Sept. 30. A treaty was concluded with the French Directory.—President Adams signed the alien and sedition laws.

1801. Thomas Jefferson was elected President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President.—Congress declared war against Tripoli.—The second census was completed, and showed—population, 5,319,762 ; revenue, $12,945,000 ; exports, $94,000,000.

1802. New Orleans was ceded by Spain to France, and the Mississippi closed against the United States.—Ohio admitted into the Union.

1803. Louisiana was purchased of the French by the United States for $15,000,000.—Com. Preble sailed with a squadron for Tripoli ; the frigate Philadelphia got aground in the harbor, and was captured by the barbarians.

1804. Capt. Eaton was appointed navy agent for the Barbary powers.—Lieut. (afterwards Com.) Decatur recaptured and destroyed the frigate Philadelphia, under a terrific fire from the enemy's guns.

1805. Thomas Jefferson was re-elected President, and George Clinton Vice-President.—Peace was concluded with Tripoli, and 200 prisoners were given up to the United States.

1806. England began to impress American seamen, on the plea of their having been born in that kingdom.—Nov. 21. Berlin decree issued by Bonaparte, crippling American commerce.

1807. Aaron Burr, formerly Vice-President, was tried at Richmond for high treason, but was acquitted, owing to the insufficiency of evidence.

1808. June 22. The American frigate Chesapeake was fired into by the British ship-of-war Leopard, for refusing to deliver up four men who were claimed as English subjects ; three men were killed and eightsen wounded.—In November, the British government issued the celebrated " Orders in Coun

en," prohibiting all trade with France and her allies; and in December, Bonaparte issued the retaliatory "Milan decree," forbidding all trade with England and her colonies.—Dec. 22. Congress decreed an embargo, the design of which was to retaliate on France and England for unjust commercial prohibitions.

1809. March 1. Congress repealed the embargo act, but at the same time interdicted all commercial intercourse with France or England.

1810. In November, all the hostile decrees of the French were revoked, and commercial intercourse with the United States was resumed; but those of England were not only continued, but ships of war were stationed near the principal American ports for the purpose of intercepting our merchantmen, which were captured, and sent to British ports as legal prizes.

1811. May 16. The British ship-of-war Little Belt, Capt. Bingham, was hailed in the evening on the coast of Virginia by the U. S. frigate President, Capt. Rodgers, but instead of receiving a satisfactory answer, a shot was fired in return, when a brief engagement followed, in which eleven of the enemy were killed and twenty-one wounded. The President had only one man wounded

1812. June 17. President Madison issued a proclamation of war against England, and exertions were immedately made to enlist 25,000 men, to raise 50,000 volunteers, and to call out 100,000 militia.

1814. In August, Washington City surrendered to a British army, who destroyed the Capitol, President's Mansion, and many other valuable buildings, &c.—Dec. 24. Treaty of peace with Great Britain concluded at Ghent.

1815. Jan. 8. Battle of New Orleans, in which the British, under Sir E. Packenham were signally repulsed by the Americans, under Gen. Jackson.

1816. In April, Congress chartered the U. S. Bank, with a capital of $35,000,000.—Indiana admitted into the Union.—American Colonization Society formed.

1817. March 4. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Mississippi admitted into the Union.

1818. SEMINOLE WAR, in which Gen. Jackson obtained many important victories, and finally "conquered peace."—July 4 Ground first broken in New York for the Hudson and Erie Canal.—Illinois and Alabama admitted into the Union.

1819. Feb. 23. The Floridas ceded by Spain to the United States for $5,000,000, which sum was to be paid to American citizens as indemnities for spoliations on their commerce during the Peninsular war.

1820. Maine and Missouri were admitted into the Union.—The Compromise Act passed, by which slavery was excluded from all territory lying north of 36° 30′ N. latitude.

1821. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President.

1822. Ministers plenipotentiary sent to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Chili.—Convention of Navigation and Commerce between the United States and France.—Piracy was alarmingly prevalent in the West Indies.

1824. Aug. 15. Gen. Lafayette arrived in New York from France, and spent the year in traveling through the country, being received at every place with great enthusiasm.

1825. March 4. John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Sept. 7. Gen. Lafayette embarked for France in the frigate Brandywine, which had been fitted out expressly for his accommodation.

1826. July 4. Centennial Anniversary of American Independence.—Remarkable coincidence in the death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, each of whom died that day.

1829. March 4. Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun inaugurated as President and Vice President—the latter re elected.

1832. The Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and some other Indian tribes, under the Chief Black Hawk, made war on the north-western frontier, but were soon brought to submission.—A Convention in South Carolina threatened to dissolve the Union, but the President issued a proclamation (Dec. 12) which allayed all apprehension of trouble.

1833. March 4. Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren were inaugurated as President and Vice-President—the former re-elected.—The public funds were removed from the U. S. Bank, which occasioned much excitement.

1835. The Florida War was commenced by Indian hostilities against the settlements. Dec. 24. Major Dade and upwards of 100 men were unexpectedly attacked, and all savagely butchered, except four, who were so horribly mangled that they died soon afterwards. On the same day, while Gen. Thompson and eight friends were dining together near Fort King, they were fired upon by a party of warriors under Osceola, and five out of the nine were killed and scalped. Gen. T.'s body was pierced by fifteen bullets.

1836. The Florida war was vigorously prosecuted by Generals Gaines, Glinch, Jesup, and Call, and several desperate battles were fought, but without any material advantage to the whites.—Arkansas was admitted into the Union.

1837. March 4. Great commercial distress prevailed, and nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payments.—An extra session of Congress was held in September, but nothing was done, except authorizing the government to issue $10,000,000 in Treasury notes.—Oct. 21. The Indian chief Osceola was captured, and died the following January.—Michigan was admitted into the Union.

1840. General Macomb, who took command of the army in Florida (numbering about 9,000), concluded a treaty of peace with several Indian chiefs.—The Independent Treasury Bill became a law.

1841. March 4. William H. Harrison and John Tyler were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—April 4. President Harrison died, and was succeeded by Mr. Tyler.—May 31. An extra session of Congress convened, but they did little, except to pass the Bankrupt Bill.

1842. A treaty adjusting the N. E. boundary of the U. S., concluded with Great Britain.

1845. March 4. James K. Polk and George M. Dallas were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Texas was annexed to the United States, and this led to a War with Mexico, which resulted in a series of brilliant victories, and in the extension of American territory on the Pacific ocean. Florida was admitted into the Union.

1846. Iowa was admitted into the Union.

1847. Wisconsin was admitted into the Union.

1849. March 4. Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.

1850. July 9. President Taylor died, after a very brief illness, and was succeeded by Mr. Fillmore.—Sept. 18. Fugitive Slave Law approved.—California admitted into the Union.

1853. Franklin Pierce and William R. King, having been elected President and Vice-President, the former was duly inaugurated, but the latter, being absent in Cuba, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, was not sworn into office until some time in April. He did not live long after reaching home, and Jesse D. Bright, President of the Senate, assumed his office during the remainder of the term.

1854. Congress passed an Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and also to repeal the Missouri Compromise Act.

1857. James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge inaugurated as President and Vice-President of the United States.—A year of severe embarrassments and financial distress throughout the country. Nearly all the Banks in the United States suspended specie payments, as in 1837, and many heavy failures occurred.—Minnesota admitted into the Union.

1858. Specie payments resumed.—Atlantic Telegraph laid.—Crystal Palace burned.

1859. Oregon admitted into the Union.

1860. Visit of the Ambassadors of the Japanese Government to the United States.—Arrival of the Steamship "Great Eastern" at New York.